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From Reflections in his Journal, written on his voyage home from America.

Seventh day noon. 8mo 1 This afternoon will completes
the week since that memorable peaceful, tearful,
parting from my many friends, when I left the
Steamboat, in New York harbor, for this vessel. As it draws to its
close, I find myself, empty, weak & poor.
yet not otherwise than Labour

MEMOIRS

OF

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY;

WITH

Selections from his Journal and Correspondence.

EDITED BY

JOSEPH BEVAN BRAITHWAITE.

"Herein do I exercise myself, to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men." Acts xxiv, 16.—*Motto selected by J. J. Gurney for some of the earlier volumes of his Journal.*

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Καλὸς ὕμνος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀθάνατος ἄνθρωπος, δικαιοσύνῃ οἰκοδομούμενος, ἐν ᾧ τὰ λόγια τῆς ἀληθείας ἐγκεχάραχται.

Clem. Alex. Protrept. c. x, § 107.

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LIFE

OF

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1835. ÆT. 47.

STATE OF FEELING IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS; PUBLICATION OF THE BEACON; LETTER TO ISAAC CREWDSON.

THE interest felt by Joseph John Gurney in the controversy that was at this time agitating the Society of Friends, and the prominent part which he was led to take in some of the proceedings to which it gave rise, render some notice of it here unavoidable. It is far from the object of these pages to stir up painful recollections. No one deplored more than he did the severance of ties which had long united him to many whom he loved and valued. Deeply as he was attached to the religious community of which he was a member, from a settled conviction of the Christian soundness of its principles, no one more regretted the loss to that body of many whom he had hoped to have seen numbered amongst its brightest ornaments. Nothing but a sense of duty could have sustained him in the course which he felt it right to take. It was a course attended

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with much suffering and humiliation; and he has often spoken of this period as one of the most sorrowful of his life. It may be desirable here to premise a few observations for the information of the general reader.

The Society of Friends, as is well known, took its rise about the middle of the 17th century. Raised up at a period of religious excitement, unparalleled in English history, the early Friends were instrumental, under the divine blessing, in bringing about a revival of primitive Christianity and vital godliness, to which the general historian of the Christian Church has not yet done justice. The successors of these devoted men inherited the results of their faithfulness in the enjoyment of a large measure of civil and religious liberty; but, in the midst of ease and abundance, worldliness in too many instances gradually took possession of the heart; coolness succeeded to zeal; and a traditional attachment to the opinions derived from early education, took the place of that vital change and depth of conviction which had wrought so marvellously in their forefathers. True indeed it is, that, through the divine mercy, there were preserved among them a considerable number of honest and true-hearted disciples of Christ, who were enabled to hold fast the truth in the love of it; but no one who duly reflects upon the internal state of this religious body about the middle of the last century, as it is unfolded in the mournful but instructive pages of the Journals of some of its most valued members at that period,* can fail to deplore the degeneracy that was then laying it waste. Brighter days followed; increased attention to the discipline purged the Society of many unworthy members; and, without the ordinary human provisions, or the stimulus of worldly emoluments, a body of faithful

* See particularly the Journal of John Griffith.

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ministers was still raised up to preach, with increasing clearness and authority, the unsearchable riches of Christ. Yet in this revival there appeared lacking that thorough Christian devotedness which was so remarkably manifested at the rise of the Society. Whilst the preaching of the gospel amongst Friends, at this period, was often marked by great earnestness in setting forth the spirituality of religion, and the necessity of its inward operations, it was not always connected with an equally clear and practical enforcement of other great and not less essential portions of revealed truth, which, in the minds of the earlier Friends, were inseparably bound up with their deep and comprehensive views of the soul-searching and spiritual character of true Christianity.* And it may, perhaps, be added, that the increased attention to the discipline, valuable and

* "Christ," says George Fox, "gave himself, his *body*, for the life of the whole world; he was the offering for the sins of the whole world; *and paid the debt and made satisfaction.*" And surely no one who did not, in his heart, feel the deep practical value of this precious truth, could have addressed his suffering friends in the following touching strain:—"The heavenly joy fill your hearts and comfort you in the inward man in all tribulations! The glorious light is shining, the immortal is bringing forth out of death; the prisoners have hope of their pardon, *the debt being paid, and they freely purchased by Christ's blood.*" And again, "The voice of the bridegroom is heard in our land, and Christ is come amongst the prisoners, to visit them in their prison houses; they have all hopes of releasement and free pardon, and to come out freely, *for the debt is paid.* Wait for the manifestation of it, and he that comes out of prison shall reign." Selections from George Fox's Epistles by Samuel Tuke, pp. 12 and 17, second edition. Without needlessly multiplying quotations, this note may be closed by the following testimony recorded among the dying sayings of a Friend in the year 1698. The passage, it may be observed, is, on account of its excellence, printed in large black letter, in the original editions of Piety Promoted. "Now is my soul redeemed to God, and he that hath redeemed me is near me. THE SUFFERINGS AND DEATH OF CHRIST, AND HIS AGONIES, THE SHEDDING OF HIS BLOOD, AND WHAT HE HATH DONE FOR ME, I FEEL NOW THAT I HAVE THE BENEFIT OF ALL. BLESSED BE MY REDEEMER WHO IS NEAR ME." Piety Promoted, part 2nd, p. 19, second edition. Truly could they, who had been brought to such an experience, feelingly adopt the language of the apostle, "We joy in God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received *the atonement*:" Rom. v. 11.

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important as it was, was too often associated with a rigid adherence to forms, and a tendency to multiply rules, and to make the exact carrying of them out, in degree at least, a substitute for that patient and discriminating wisdom, tempered with love, which should ever characterize Christian discipline. In this country the revival was happily connected with an increased attention to the education of the youth, (among the results of which may be noticed the establishment of the School at Ackworth,) and to the reading of the Holy Scriptures in families, which, though always recommended and carefully practised by the more faithful members, had too much fallen into disuse. And it cannot but be considered as a striking evidence of the general prevalence of sound Christianity among the members, that when, towards the close of the last century, a minister from America attempted publicly to throw discredit upon the writings of the Old Testament; and when, in 1814, as has been already stated, an individual who had been disowned for promulgating Unitarian doctrines, appealed to the Yearly Meeting for a reversal of his disownment; in each of these cases the Yearly Meeting openly disavowed the opinions attempted to be pressed upon it, and plainly declared itself on the side of the pure and simple truths of Holy Scripture.

Meanwhile in the United States of North America,—to parts of which many members of the Society had emigrated in the days of Robert Barclay and William Penn, and where the body had become very numerous,—causes had been more recently at work, which at length, between the years 1826 and 1828, produced a separation from the main body, in five out of the eight American Yearly Meetings, of a considerable number, estimated at about one-third of the whole; amongst whom Elias Hicks, an aged and

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influential minister, held the most prominent position.* "Captivated by specious pretences to a refined spirituality," they had been led on, step by step, into an open denial of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion; to the undervaluing of the Holy Scriptures; and to the denial of the divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ; and of his offices as the Redeemer and Saviour of men, and the one Propitiation and Mediator with the Father. And not a few, who shrank from an avowal of these sentiments, were induced to join the ranks of the secession by the influence of personal feeling or family connexions; which, in minds inadequately instructed, and in many cases almost indifferent as regards evangelical truth, easily outweighed more important considerations.

Deeply afflicting as such an event must ever be to the mind that duly considers it, it affords a striking lesson, one, it is hoped, never to be forgotten, of the unspeakable necessity of humbly and reverently maintaining the truth of the Gospel in its integrity, and of holding fast that "form of sound words" which it has pleased Infinite Wisdom to make use of as a most important means of conveying it to our understandings, and of preserving it from corruption. Among those who thus separated were many, who, from a one-sided zeal, "not according to knowledge," for the doctrine of inward and immediate revelation, were gradually drawn away from the one incarnate Redeemer, the Fountain of all true spiritual life; substituting, under the notion of high spirituality, an exclusively inward Christ, of their own imagining, for Jesus of Nazareth, the one Messiah, the anointed of God.

* The largest secession was in the Yearly Meetings of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore; but the separation extended also to the Yearly Meetings of Ohio and Indiana. No secession took place in New England, North Carolina, or Virginia.

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"They are a determined body of people," says Joseph John Gurney in allusion to these separatists, in one of his letters a few years later, "entirely possessed by their one idea in religion, and little disposed to admit anything more. It is a desperate web, from which escape seems almost morally impossible. Quakerism truly asserts that Christ is 'the light;' because Christ, by his Spirit, enlightens the minds of men, and is truly indivisible from that divine influence of the Holy Ghost, by and in which he visits all men, and dwells in believers. Hicksism asserts most falsely and dangerously that this light, life, or influence, is itself the Christ, the Son of God; the Redeemer, &c. They own *no other Saviour;* and this particular view, respecting the light within, is the true and obvious root of all their defect of faith; of their final and utter rejection of scriptural Christianity. * * * The mystified interpretation of the Gospel, of the blood of Christ, and of Christ himself, is the unquestionable parent of infidelity, as the whole history of Hicksism most abundantly proves."

Amongst the causes that led to this melancholy separation, it may not be uninstructive to remark, that one of the most powerful appears to have been (to use the words of the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia) "the neglect of many members in not bestowing upon their offspring a guarded religious education, labouring to imbue their minds with the saving truths of the Gospel, and habituating them to the frequent reading of the Holy Scriptures." For want of this care on the part of parents and teachers, many of the youth had grown up in great ignorance of these all-important subjects, as well as of the history and principles of the early Friends, and thus fell an easy prey to the cavils and sophistry of designing men who were seeking to lead them astray.*

* Declaration issued by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, in 1828, p. 5.

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The existence or spread of unsound and dangerous doctrines is no new thing in the Christian church. From the earliest ages of Christianity there have been those whose unsubjected spirits have refused to yield a full and submissive obedience to the authority of divine revelation. The cause lies not in the truth, but in the natural opposition of that carnal mind which ever has been and ever will be "enmity against God." And, painful as the recollection of such events must ever be to the feeling mind, it ill becomes us, through either a misplaced charity, or a heedless forgetfulness, to blind ourselves to the lessons of deep and lasting instruction which they are designed to afford.

After the separation, the several Yearly Meetings of Friends in America issued declarations disowning the doctrines promulgated by Elias Hicks and his followers, and showing their inconsistency with the doctrines of Christ and his apostles; and in 1829, the Yearly Meeting of London issued a brief but explicit declaration to the same effect.

"We have heard," says the Yearly Meeting, "with deep concern and sorrow, of the close trials to which our brethren on the American continent have been subjected by the diffusion of anti-Christian doctrines among them; and we consider it to be a duty to disclaim, and we hereby do disclaim, all connection, as a religious society, with any meetings for the purpose of worship or discipline, which have been established, or which are upheld, by those who have embraced such anti-Christian doctrines.

"And, in order to prevent any misapprehension as to our views, we feel ourselves called upon, at this time, to avow our belief in the inspiration and divine authority of the Old and New Testaments.

"We further believe that the promise made after the transgression of our first parents, in the consequences of whose fall all the posterity of Adam are involved, 'that the seed of the woman

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shall bruise the head of the serpent;'[1] and the declaration unto Abraham, 'In thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed,'[2] had a direct reference to the coming in the flesh of the Lord Jesus Christ. To him also did the prophet Isaiah bear testimony, when he declared, 'Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace: of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end.'[3] And again the same prophet spoke of him when he said, 'Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows; yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted; but he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes are we healed.'[4] The same blessed Redeemer is emphatically denominated by the prophet Jeremiah, 'THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS.'[5]

"At that period, and in that miraculous manner, which God in his perfect wisdom saw fit, the promised Messiah appeared personally upon the earth, when 'he took not on him the nature of angels; but he took on him the seed of Abraham.'[6] 'He was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin.'[7] 'Having finished the work which was given him to do,'[8] 'he gave himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God,'[9] 'He tasted death for every man.'[10] 'He is the propitiation for our sins: and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.'[11] 'We have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins.'[12] 'He passed into the heavens;'[13] and, 'being the brightness of the glory of God, and the express image of his person, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high;'[14] and 'ever liveth to make intercession for us.'[15]

[1] Gen. iii, 15.
[2] Gen. xxviii, 14.
[3] Isaiah ix, 6, 7.
[4] Isaiah liii, 4, 5.
[5] Jer. xxiii, 6.
[6] Heb. ii, 16.
[7] Heb. iv, 15.
[8] John xvii, 4.
[9] Eph. v, 2.
[10] Heb. ii, 9.
[11] 1 John ii, 2.
[12] Col. i, 14.
[13] Heb. iv, 14.
[14] Heb. i, 3.
[15] Heb. vii. 25.

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"'It is by the Lord Jesus Christ that the world will be judged in righteousness.'[16] He is 'the Mediator of the New Covenant;'[17] 'the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature; for by him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him, and for him; and he is before all things, and by him all things consist.'[18] 'In him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily:'[19] and to him did the Evangelist bear testimony when he said, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that was made. In him was life; and the life was the light of men. He was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.'[20]

"Our blessed Lord himself spoke of his perpetual dominion and power in his church, when he said, 'My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me; and I give unto them eternal life:'[21] and, when describing the spiritual food which he bestoweth on the true believers, he declared, 'I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst.'[22] He spoke also of his saving grace, bestowed on those who come in faith unto him when he said, 'Whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life.'[23]

"Our religious society, from its earliest establishment to the present day, has received these most important doctrines of Holy Scripture in their plain and obvious acceptation; and we do not acknowledge as in fellowship with us, as a Christian community, any body of religious professors which does not thus accept them, or which openly receives and accredits as ministers, those who

[16] Acts xvii, 31.
[17] Heb. xii, 24.
[18] Col. i, 15—17.
[19] Col ii, 9.
[20] John i, 1—4, 9.
[21] John x, 27, 28.
[22] John vi, 35.
[23] John iv, 14.

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attempt to invalidate any of these doctrines which we esteem as essential parts of the Christian religion.

"It is the earnest desire of this meeting that all who profess our name, may so live, and so walk before God, as that they may know these sacred truths to be blessed to them individually. We desire that, as the mere profession of sound Christian doctrine will not avail to the salvation of the soul, all may attain to a living efficacious faith, which, through the power of the Holy Ghost, bringeth forth fruit unto holiness;[24] the end whereof is everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Such a declaration carefully prepared, deliberated upon, and sanctioned by the body of Friends in this country, in their representative assembly,—an assembly to which each member has access, and in which he is allowed to take a part, and which usually consists of at least one thousand persons, and of a yet larger number on important occasions,—ought surely to be accepted as satisfactory evidence of the soundness of the faith of the society in all the fundamental articles of the Christian religion. But whilst the views of the body were thus clearly and fully set forth, and whilst it may, with thankfulness, be acknowledged that the Society of Friends in England have been spared the pain of differences so great and wide-spread as those which have afflicted their brethren in America, it is not to be concealed that there was existing among certain individuals, even in this country, a want of complete harmony of mind and feeling. The comprehension of the entire truth, and the holding of each part in its due place and proportion, are only to be found in connexion with a full submission of the heart and understanding to the enlightening and sanctifying operations of the Spirit of God; and, if attained to at all, the process is usually a very gradual

[24] Rom. vi, 22.

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one, the result of much time and experience. Instead, therefore, of being too much dismayed at differences of opinion, it should be rather matter of thankfulness, when many distinct and independent minds are brought, through divine mercy, to see and to act together. There were some members of the body who, whilst distinguished for their warm attachment to those views of the spirituality of the Gospel, which had led the early Friends to the disuse of all outward rites and ceremonies in the worship of God, and to press home to the consciences of men the practical operations of the Holy Spirit upon the heart; were yet, perhaps, hardly enough alive to the importance of keeping steadily in view the great and glorious truths of the incarnation of the Son of God, and of the necessity and efficacy of his atoning sacrifice upon the cross. These were not, indeed, disbelieved, but they had evidently not occupied so large a share in their meditations, as some other portions of divine truth. Others there were who, though brought up with great strictness in the habits and usages of the society, had not imbibed in their earlier years an extended knowledge of scriptural truth; and who, after leading a regular and blameless life among their fellow-men, had, in their middle or declining age been, for the first time, awakened to the full conviction that their salvation wholly depended on the free and unmerited mercy of God in Christ Jesus. This was, indeed, a new light to their souls, and, under the painful consciousness that they were dark before, they were too ready, perhaps, to reject all their former experiences; too ready to think that all their brethren were in precisely the same condition as they had been in; too ready to make this one precious doctrine the entire sum of their Christianity.

The working of these two classes of mind obviously

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ended in opposite directions. If, on the one hand, the spirituality of the Gospel was dwelt upon by some in a way that appeared, at times, to throw into the shade truths of equal importance and necessity, which can never be profitably separated from it; there was, on the other hand, no less danger of these latter truths being treated in too distinct and exclusive a manner, and of too little place being given to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in all its fulness and practical application.

Amidst these conflicting tendencies it was Joseph John Gurney's earnest endeavour steadily to maintain a course removed from extremes in either direction. His own belief in the Christian soundness of the doctrines and practices of Friends had remarkably kept pace with his general religious convictions; and as, on the one hand, he found his mind incapable either of putting aside, or keeping out of view, any one of those glorious truths of Christian redemption upon which, as he often expressed himself, *were founded all his hopes;* so, on the other hand, he was not less indisposed to let go any of those practices and testimonies which he believed to be, if not equally essential, yet equally part of pure and complete Christianity.

"Not to rest our hope of salvation," he wrote to Jonathan Hutchinson, in the sixth month, 1833, "alone on the merits and mercies of our gracious Redeemer is fearful unbelief; and not much less so to surrender our faith in his being always with his people by his Spirit to guide them into all truth. I feel quite sure we shall never mend matters by clipping any one part of Divine truth. The remedy appears rather to lie in a comprehensive view and full statement of the whole."

A few months later he writes in his Journal.

Conversed with ——— in private, first on the danger of conversation on the supposed unsoundness of others; on varying

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opinions; on American and *supposed* English Hicksism. Secondly on the vast importance in our proclamation of orthodox doctrine, not to trench on the 'anointing,' or on those things which we have found experimentally to be truly precious. Earnestly do I desire that the evil so much dreaded, and which I consider non-existent, may not be fretted into being. May the Great Master keep us in the plenitude of his mercy and love! I feel thankful in the belief that he has done this, and will yet do it.

Still later, he continues:—

7th mo., *6th*, 1834. Many thoughts pass and repass, in spite of one's self, respecting the state of things amongst us, as a religious society. I have been considering, this morning, the importance of steadily maintaining the *juste milieu*. I believe the only way is to forget one's self, and to forget men, and every arm of flesh, on the right hand and on the left; and to look simply and singly to Jesus, in the reverent desire to be preserved without error in his blessed truth; and without interruption, to do the Father's will. "I will behave myself wisely in a perfect way. O when wilt thou come unto me! I will walk within my house with a perfect heart."

Such was the state of Joseph John Gurney's feelings when, towards the conclusion of his ministerial labours in London, the conflict of opinion amongst Friends in this country was brought to a crisis by the publication of the Beacon, in the beginning of the year 1835. The late Isaac Crewdson, of Manchester, the author of this work, was a man greatly esteemed and beloved by a large circle, and was then in the station of an acknowledged minister. He had been brought up in all the strictness of an external Quakerism, and had early imbibed a strong attachment to its usages; but it was not until towards middle life that evangelical truth dawned upon his mind. "I remember," says Joseph John Gurney in his Autobiography, "telling

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my friend, Isaac Crewdson, nearly three years before the publication of the Beacon, that he and I had started in our race from opposite points, had met, and crossed on the road."

This publication as described by Joseph John Gurney, "consisted of a running commentary on various passages in the sermons of the late Elias Hicks, of North America, who had been disowned by Friends in that country; and, with proofs, drawn from Scripture, of this preacher's perversions and delusions, are mixed up many painful inuendos, trenching, in various degrees, on our well-known views of the spirituality of the Gospel of Christ. Indeed, it is my deliberate judgment, that the work, professing as it does to defend sound Christianity, has an undeniable tendency to undermine the precious doctrine of the immediate teaching, guidance, and government of the Holy Spirit. Calculated, as it was, to disparage the character of the Society, it was forced upon the attention of the public by placards and advertisements of various kinds; and was the means of bringing down upon us a shower of offensive weapons, in reviews and other publications, from our evangelical fellow-Christians. The Society was, in no common degree, held up to scorn and reproof; the common butt of many who were destitute of any correct knowledge of our principles. The consequence was just what might have been expected; the alarm occasioned by the Beacon operated in a direction which was not intended by its author, and was well-nigh being the means of driving some easily alarmed ones on to the very rocks against which he was wishing to warn us. A reply, published without any sanction from the Morning Meeting, soon made its appearance; and, naturally enough, was eagerly laid hold of by Friends in different parts of the country, and especially Lancashire; but, with much that was valuable, it was found to contain many errors, and helped to confirm the prevailing notion, that we really needed such a work as the Beacon.

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The annoyance of this internal warfare disturbed me a good deal, even in its early stages; it seemed to have a tendency to divide best friends, and many were the jealousies which it was the means of propagating."

TO PETER BEDFORD.

Earlham, 3rd mo., 7th, 1835.

* * * I do from my very soul love the genuine and unadulterated gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. In it are developed all my hopes, and on its merciful provisions depends all my happiness. My attachment to Quakerism arises from a firm conviction that, rightly understood, it is simple Christianity—Christianity without diminution, and without addition.

I fully believe that he who raised us up as a people to bear testimony to his name, will surmount and regulate the present storm, and overrule it to the extension of his pure truth and to his own glory. In the meantime it is impossible not to be anxious on two points. The first is, lest the faith of any of our members in the grand fundamental doctrines of the New Testament should be in any degree shaken; or I might rather say their relish for them impaired, by the imprudence of some who press these points almost to the exclusion of their practical consequences. The second is, lest that most precious doctrine of the inward and perceptible guidance of the Holy Spirit, which lies at the very foundation of all our peculiar testimonies, should be let down in the minds of our beloved, inquiring young people.

With an earnest desire to promote a spirit of reconciliation and harmony, Joseph John Gurney addressed a long and affectionate letter to the author of the Beacon,* in which, after briefly but distinctly adverting to several important points in regard to which he considered the remarks of the author "useful and striking, and quite in accordance with the sentiments of every sound and

* This letter is dated Earlham, 4th mo., 27th, 1835.

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enlightened Christian," he proceeds to a lengthened explanation of his grounds of objection to the work. It was a letter, not of attack, but of calm Christian suggestion and expostulation, written in the hope of eliciting such an explanation from the Friend to whom it was addressed as would have been generally satisfactory. True to that charity which "believeth all things," and conscious of his own deep-rooted attachment to the principles of Christianity maintained by Friends, it was with difficulty that he was persuaded that others whom he had long looked upon as holding the same profession, were not equally animated by a love for the same religious principles. Without unduly burthening the attention of the reader, the following extracts may serve to illustrate the general tone and character of the letter.

After adverting to the tendency of the Beacon to disparage the doctrine of "an inward and universal light," he continues:—

The doctrine that a measure of the influence of the Spirit—although, in numberless instances, small and faint—is actually communicated to the whole human species, appears to me to be the only safe and sufficient basis of a closely analogous truth; namely, that all men are placed, through the redemption which is in Christ, in a real capacity of salvation. I conceive that this capacity is broadly declared by the apostle Paul, when he says, "Therefore, as by one man's offence (judgment is come) upon ALL MEN to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one (mercy is come) upon ALL MEN unto justification of life." Now, that this view of the subject is most salutary to the human mind, and that the steady maintenance of it, in the ministry of the gospel of Christ, is of immense use and importance, there are, as I believe, thousands who can testify. I am informed by the Wesleyan Methodists, that this is one great secret of their extensive success; and it may surely be ascribed in part to the same

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cause, that such wonderful effects were produced by the preaching of the early Friends.

To be able to assure those whom we are addressing, that if they will come, they may come and "take of the waters of life freely;" to declare to them that they are already placed, through the infinite compassion of God, in a salvable condition; to direct them all to that divine influence by which the Father draws them, and which, as they give way to it, will never fail to answer to the gospel, and dispose them to receive it—must surely be numbered among the plainest duties, as well as the happiest privileges, of the Christian minister. "I turned the people," cried George Fox, "to the divine light which Christ the heavenly and spiritual man enlighteneth them withal; that with that light they might see their sins, and that they were in death and darkness, and without God in the world; and might also see Christ from whom it cometh, their Saviour and Redeemer, who shed his blood and died for them; who is the way to God, the truth, and the life."*

Again, I deem it to be of peculiar importance that our children should be frequently reminded of that unflattering witness for God, in the conscience, which testifies against their sins; of that still small voice of Israel's Shepherd in the soul, which would lead them into every virtue. The more this "inward light" is attended to, the clearer will be their view of their own corruption; the more they will be brought into humility and contrition; the better they will be prepared for a full apprehension of scriptural truth; the more earnestly will they "flee for refuge" to the "hope set before us" in the gospel.

Before I quit this subject, I wish to say a few words on the Word of God. I am quite aware that both λόγος and ῥῆμα very frequently mean the declaration of the divine will, or of divine truth; and therefore the Scriptures, in this sense, unquestionably contain the Word of God; and they may themselves be justly described as the declaratory or written word. But I cannot think that there is any authority in Scripture itself for our applying

* Journal, p. 156.

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this title to the volume of Sacred writ, in the naked and exclusive manner which is so customary among many Christians. It appears to me, that the scruple of Friends on the subject is not without a good and sufficient foundation; and that they do well to restrict the application of that title, as one of pre-eminence to him of whom the Scriptures testify—to him who is essentially, eternally, and, in the highest sense, the Word of Jehovah.

In reply to an observation in the Beacon, in which it appeared to be asserted, that the source of instruction to the apostles was "immediate," but that to us it is "mediate," except only that the Spirit deals immediately with the *affections* to dispose the heart to receive their doctrine, Joseph John Gurney remarks:—

Now here, my dear friend, if I understand thee aright, I am directly at issue with thee; because I consider that we have plain scriptural authority for asserting that the promise of the Spirit, in all its richness and variety, is the inheritance, in this world, of the Holy Catholic Church in all ages. This point appears to me to be proveable, first from John xiv, 16, "And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you FOR EVER;" with which compare Matthew xxviii, 20, "Lo, I am with you *alway, even unto the end of the world:*" secondly, from the words of Peter, in Acts ii, 39, "The promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call;" and thirdly, from the promise of God to the Messiah, in Isaiah lix, 21, "As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord, [compare Jer. xxxi, 31—34,] my Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever."

Here I must particularly desire not to be misunderstood. When I speak of the universal application of the promise of the Spirit to the church of Christ in all ages, I have no intention to

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promulgate the notion, that the Spirit is bestowed on the church in an equal measure at all times, and under all circumstances; much less that every individual in the church has the same calling. On the contrary, I believe that there have been many special effusions of the Spirit at particular periods of the church; and it is too obvious to require remark, that one Christian is called into one service, and one into another.

The effusion of the Holy Ghost, which commenced on that great day of Pentecost, and which distinguished the first age of the church, was in a large and unparalleled measure indeed, a measure exactly adapted to the work which was then to be done for the Lord, and more especially to the peculiar and extraordinary call of the apostles of Jesus Christ. That call was to promulgate among all nations, for the first time, the truth of God in its evangelical fulness; not merely to confirm the dictates of what is usually called natural religion, but to declare the glorious fact, that the eternal Word of the Father—one with him in the divine nature—had become incarnate, had died on the cross as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of all men, and had now afforded an unanswerable evidence of his divinity and mission by his resurrection from the dead. As the ambassadors of Christ, and in the demonstration of the Spirit and power, they called upon all men to repent of their sins and to believe in Jesus Christ, that they might be justified by his blood, purified by his Spirit, and thus translated from the power of darkness into the kingdom of the dear Son of God. Now that vastly pre-eminent measure of the Holy Spirit, by which the apostles and their brethren were enabled to disseminate these new truths in the world, and thus to establish the church of Christ among men, qualified some of them, also, for another specific service—namely, that of writing the books of the New Testament; which, in connexion with the Hebrew Scriptures, were destined to form the only written standard of doctrine and practice in all succeeding ages. There can be no question that, in the execution of these offices, the promise of Christ that the Spirit "should bring all things to their remembrance whatsoever he had said to them," was accomplished,

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in their experience, in that literal and primary sense, in which it applied exclusively to their own case; and the absolute divine authority both of the preaching and the writings of the apostles, was demonstrated by the miracles which they were enabled to work.

In the gospel which the apostles preached, and which is recorded for the most important of practical purposes in the New Testament, no change could afterwards take place. Nothing might be added to it, nothing might be taken away from it; he that attempted to preach any other gospel was accursed. Nothing could be more distinct than the testimonies of our early Friends to this grand point. They utterly disclaimed the pretension which was sometimes falsely ascribed to them, of having received the revelation of any new truths; but, *under a fresh and powerful outpouring of the Spirit*, they made abundant use of apostolic materials—even the doctrines of the New Testament—and proclaimed the old, the unchanging gospel in its genuine spirituality.

In what respect, then, are we now permitted to realize the promise of the Holy Ghost as an unfailing and ever-present Guide and Teacher in the church? One who, though he may often make use of human instruments, still operates directly and immediately, not merely on the affections, but on the understandings of his people?

I would venture to reply:—

First, in unfolding to the mind, with divine clearness and power, yet often very gradually, all those blessed truths which are recorded by the pen of inspiration in the Holy Scriptures.

Secondly, in perpetually directing the children of God to the practice of holiness, teaching them how to apply to their daily duties, to the exigencies and requirements of each passing moment, the general principles of the divine law; principles which are primarily written on the heart, and are confirmed and beautifully unfolded in the sacred volume. Here I would remark, in passing, that obedience, in practice, to that swift witness for God in our bosoms, who testifies against all that is wicked, and leads into all that is virtuous and comely in our daily walk, has a vast efficacy in preparing the mind for a right understanding of Christian truth.

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I wish also to observe, that these precious immediate influences of the Spirit are to be enjoyed, not in the disuse and neglect of Scripture, or of any other appointed means of religious instruction and edification, but in connexion with the diligent use of them to the best of our ability.

But thirdly, this immediate anointing will lead the living members of the body of Christ into those specific services in his cause which belong to their individual paths of duty;—as the Spirit divideth to every man severally, even as he wills. And the same influence which leads into these duties, will ever be present with the believer to qualify him for their performance. While the general tenor of these services may be collected both from the precepts and examples afforded us in Scripture, and while the spirit of them must ever be checked and tested by the known principles of Christianity, we can derive no information from the sacred volume respecting their peculiar direction in our own case. Here we have no resource but immediate revelation. Our Lord and Master, who speaks to our souls by his Spirit, can alone determine for us what our service shall be; and when, where, and how it shall be performed. Blessed be his holy name; he still enables his faithful, humble, and watchful followers—even those who are willing to *wait* for his teaching in deep humiliation of mind—to distinguish the Shepherd's voice from the "voice of the stranger."

The full application of this blessed principle to the ministry of the gospel, not only as it regards the original call, but as it respects the continued exercise of the gift *on every successive occasion*, must, I think, still be regarded as a marked and distinguishing peculiarity in the views of our religious society, a peculiarity based, like our other testimonies, (as I believe,) on Jesus Christ, and *inseparably* connected with the spirituality of his gospel.

Feeling, as I do, the great practical importance of this our Christian testimony, and the necessity of our maintaining it inviolate, both for our own benefit, and for the welfare of the church at large, I cannot wonder at the disquietude which has been excited by the omission of any reference to it in the Beacon.

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Thou hast adduced abundant evidence from Scripture, that the gospel is not, as E. Hicks pretends, "God in man," but the annunciation of the glad tidings of salvation through an incarnate and crucified Redeemer. And I am perfectly aware that when Paul says, "I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation;" he is not defining the word "gospel," or identifying it with the Spirit, but is only describing its efficacy, when preached under divine authority, for the conversion and salvation of sinners. But in returning an affirmative answer to the question, Can man preach the gospel? it would certainly have been very satisfactory hadst thou clearly stated that, according to our views, man CANNOT rightly preach it, except under the direct and *renewed* influences of the Holy Ghost.

The omission of such a statement may probably have been accidental; yet it seems to correspond with thy remarks on silent worship. (*Beacon*, p. 96.)

I fully admit that the New Testament contains no specific direction respecting mode of worship; and when we consider the infirmities of man, and the various mental conditions of sincere and pious Christians, we may be thankful that it is so. But the New Testament contains unchanging principles, which it is the duty of all men to follow up, according to the light given to them. For us, then, who dare not preach or pray, in our meetings, except under the immediate influence (as we believe) of divine anointing, silence and stillness are surely essential to true worship. They are not merely convenient and advantageous accessories to this our public homage to our Lord; they are, practically speaking, *indispensable* to its right performance. While Martha was busied about "much serving," Mary sat still at the feet of her Lord; which, in his view, was the one thing needful. This beautiful anecdote may suffice to show that there is a "passivity" which is worthy of the gospel, and consistent with its principles. "There is a stillness," said our late dear friend, Jonathan Hutchinson, "which is not the stillness of death; there is a silence which is not the silence of the grave!"

Unreasonable as the length of this letter may appear, there are

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two other passages in the Beacon to which, before I conclude, I shall be best satisfied to allude. "Creaturely exertions," "creaturely activity," thou sayest, "are not Scripture phrases, and the mischief is very great of using unscriptural terms on religious subjects, when the meaning of those terms is not clear and definite. Such phrases also, as 'sinking down,' 'centering down,' 'digging deep,' 'dwelling deep,' 'turning inward,' &c., the reader may have observed, but we hardly need say they are not the language of Christ and his apostles." (*p.* 112.) The general principle, as regards terms, here alluded to, is unquestionable. But allow me to express my conviction that, although these phrases are somewhat awkward, they are capable of a meaning which is deeply scriptural, and of the greatest possible importance to our religious welfare, both as individuals and as a society. The want of more depth, of more humiliation, of a more frequent descent to the well-spring of life, of a more diligent application to the all-wise Counsellor who condescends to dwell within us by his Spirit, appears to me to be one of the greatest and most characteristic dangers of the present day. May we be brought into the depths together, and there know the love and power of Christ to triumph over all our disputations, and to heal all our wounds!

Finally, my dear friend, I must, in all honesty, tell thee that I cannot at all approve the contrast with which the Beacon concludes, between "a religion of FEELINGS," and a "religion of FAITH."

While I am prepared to go all lengths with thee in deprecating the mystical absurdities of misplaced metaphysics, and the arbitrary impressions of a wild enthusiasm,—unsupported as they are by reason, and unchecked by Scripture,—I am quite sure that religion is nothing to us, unless it is *a religion of feelings;* and notwithstanding the contrast which thou hast thus drawn, I am heartily willing to give thee credit for the same assurance. It is only as we give way to those gracious impressions of the Holy Spirit, which bring us into tenderness, and fill us with the love of God; it is only as we obey the *perceptible government* of

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our Holy Head in the path of practical piety, that we shall ever be established in our most holy FAITH. Thus, alone, shall we be made in the end "more than conquerors through him that loved us."

In conclusion, I wish to express the hope (to which I cling) that after all, I may have misconceived thy sentiments, as conveyed in the Beacon, respecting the doctrine of Universal Light; respecting the immediate influence and perceptible teaching of the Spirit; and respecting the nature of true worship and ministry. If so, I can only plead, in my excuse, that the volume has produced precisely the same effect on a multitude of other minds—on minds as deeply impressed as thy own respecting the immense value and importance of the Christian Revelation, of the Holy Scriptures, and of the glorious doctrine of Christ crucified. Under such circumstances, I would suggest, as the only sufficient remedy, an explicit disavowal of the sentiments imputed to thee, as open and public as the Beacon itself.

I can say truly, that this suggestion is offered to thee as to a Christian brother, by a most sincere friend, and in tender love.

Such a disclosure of Joseph John Gurney's views awakened a considerable amount of feeling amongst those who approved of the Beacon. But, happily, he had not now, for the first time, to learn the lessons of Christian truth. Long disciplined in the school of experience, he was, in mercy, prepared for a conflict in some respects more painful and severe than any which he had yet endured.

TO A FRIEND.

(Who had written warmly to Joseph John Gurney on the subject of the Beacon, &c.)

Norwich, 5th mo., 18th, 1835.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Thy two letters have reached me in due course, and I am sincerely obliged to thee for so freely telling me all that is in thy mind towards me. I utterly deny that I have, in the

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smallest degree, to the best of my knowledge, compromised the blessed truth as it is in Jesus Christ our Lord, either in private or in public. To the best of my ability, (I well know how poorly and weakly as regards myself,) I have declared what I believe to be "the whole counsel of God," from place to place, especially during my late prolonged visit to London and Middlesex. More than this, in the public teaching of young people, I have, in the most specific manner, detailed both the evidences of the Christian religion and of the divine authority of Scripture, and the scriptural proofs of the grand doctrines of the Divinity and Atonement of Christ. I have found it my place to unfold these points by themselves, before I touched on the doctrine of the Spirit, and the views of it which are in some degree peculiar to Friends. In all this service I have never met with the slightest opposition from those among whom I was labouring; but, as far as I know, have had the full unity and kind co-operation of Friends. What possible reason, then, can I have for taxing Friends with infidelity?

I have fully stated my views of the Beacon to our dear friend Isaac Crewdson. While I cordially concur in his view of the Divine authority of Scripture, the Inspiration of the Apostles, the privilege and necessity of prayer, and, above all, the great and glorious doctrine of the justification of the penitent and converted sinner through faith in the blood of Jesus, I as *clearly differ* from what I understand to be his view of universal light and of the immediate teaching of the Holy Spirit in the church of Christ. On neither of these branches of truth have my sentiments undergone the least change since I first became a Quaker on conviction; and, until I am better informed, it is my calm and deliberate intention to adhere to them both (as ability is afforded) to my life's end.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

1835. ÆT. 47—48.

THE YEARLY MEETING; APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE TO VISIT LANCASHIRE; LETTER TO THE AUTHOR OF THE "DEFENCE" IN REPLY TO THE BEACON; FIRST AND SECOND VISITS TO MANCHESTER; JOURNEY IN DERBYSHIRE AND NORTH WALES; ILLNESS AND DEATH OF HIS WIFE.

In the Yearly Meeting of 1835, the difficulties consequent on the publication of the Beacon formed a prominent topic for deliberation.

"It was proposed," writes Joseph John Gurney, "to appoint a committee to aid Lancashire Quarterly Meeting in the case; upon which I expressed my sentiment that there was so much fault on both sides of the controversy, that the whole affair had better be left where it was, or in other words, all proceedings quashed. This proposition was over-ruled; and, notwithstanding my earnest request to the contrary, I was appointed on the committee. Arduous, indeed, did we find the service, when we met in Lancashire, at their summer Quarterly Meeting."

Previously to going into Lancashire, Joseph John Gurney addressed the following letter to the Friend who had written the Defence of Immediate Revelation, in reply to the Beacon, explanatory of several particulars in which he considered the reply defective or open to objection.

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Earlham, Norwich, 6th mo., 8th, 1835.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Attached as I am on principle, to those spiritual yet simple views of religion which have always been maintained in the Society of Friends, I am prepared to unite with thee in earnest endeavours, through every day of rebuke and difficulty, steadily to uphold them. And I wish openly to repeat a declaration which I have often made, that my state of mind on this subject is not founded on any sectarian or traditional notions, but on a firm conviction that Quakerism, rightly understood, is nothing *more* nor *less* than the religion of the New Testament. I look upon it as Christianity without addition and without diminution.

Such were the views of George Fox, William Penn, Robert Barclay, and other veterans of their day. They pretended to the revelation of no new truths; they proclaimed no modern variations from the one original, unchanging Gospel. They pleaded only for broad, unfettered, spiritual Christianity. And, with respect to the whole system of divine truth, as it is revealed to us in the Holy Scriptures, they sometimes expressed themselves in the words with which the apostle John concludes the book of Revelation: "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book; and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book."

Inseparably connected with this principle was their noble testimony on the subject of human creeds. They were, indeed, always willing, when occasion required, publicly to declare their faith in the doctrines of Christianity; but they refused to tie themselves down, like many other Christian societies, to "articles of belief" constructed either by themselves or others. They depended on the Holy Spirit as their immediate guide and teacher; and their only written creed was the volume of inspiration.

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I am induced to make these remarks by observing that in thy reply to the Beacon, thou hast not clearly defined what is the standard by which the sentiments of its author are to be tried; for while, on the one hand, thou hast expressed thy wish that thy defence "should rest entirely on the authority of Holy Scripture," thou hast, on the other hand, checked and tested the Beacon by passages from Barclay's Apology; and one of the remarks on the subject is as follows:—"I quote the Apology of Robert Barclay, concluding that one who is now a minister in outward fellowship in the same society with myself, can hardly be supposed to have thrown off the authority of a work so justly esteemed amongst us; for this would imply that his departure from the ground of our testimonies was greater than I am yet willing to believe it to be." *(Defence, 2nd Edition, p. 23.)*

I have no desire to detract from the value of the writings of Robert Barclay. He is certainly an author of extraordinary learning, ability, and piety; and, as such, must always be entitled to a very considerable degree of influence in our religious society. Nor can there be any objection to our making use of his Apology, when occasion requires it, as an able exposition of his own sentiments, and those of his brethren.* But whatsoever a superficial view of Quakerism may dictate to us on the subject, there can, in my opinion, be no greater departure from the "ground of our testimonies," than to bring the doctrines or practices of any man to the *authoritative test* of any writings which do not bear the stamp of absolute inspiration; or, in other words, of any writings whatsoever but the Holy Scriptures.

I cannot believe that there is any real question between us on this point. But if such a question does exist, let me, in the present instance, give way, and refer the settlement of it to Robert Barclay himself. His verdict on the subject is short and explicit. "We do look upon them (the Holy Scriptures) as the only fit outward judge of controversies among Christians, and

* I am, however, inclined to the opinion, that were we compelled to select a single writer in order to ascertain the religious principles of the early Friends, we could scarcely do better than choose George Fox himself.—*Note by J. J. Gurney.*

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that whatsoever doctrine is contrary unto their testimonies may therefore justly be rejected as false." (Apol. prop. III, § 6.) Just similar were the frequent declarations of Barclay's brethren; and nothing appears to have been further from the minds of these eminent men than any desire to test each other's doctrines, whether written or preached, by their own as a standard.

No, my dear friend, their sentiments on the subject were of a nobler and sounder character; and, while they appealed to the Scriptures only as their written test, they cast themselves on the guidance of that divine anointing, which, to a wonderful extent, led them, in their views of revealed truth, to a blessed unanimity. When they were gathered together for divine worship, Christ was their present head, and preserved them in harmony both of feeling and doctrine. And when they met for the purpose of conducting the affairs of the church, it was his gracious power which enabled them to bear their Christian testimony not only against moral delinquency, but against all vital and dangerous error, in matters of faith. May we never be found departing from this safe, and only Christian ground! * * *

No man can more sincerely believe than I do, in the doctrines to which thy work chiefly relates, immediate revelation, and the universality of divine light: but I greatly regret that, in a public defence of our principles, which has obtained so extensive a circulation, these points are not more carefully distinguished. It was matter of surprise to me in perusing the chapter, in the Defence, on *immediate revelation*, to find almost the whole of it relating to that manifestation of the Spirit of Christ which we believe to be universally bestowed on mankind, through the redemption which is in him, and of which, therefore, even the benighted heathen are joint partakers with ourselves. Thus two vastly different measures of the same thing are so intermingled as to involve the mind of the reader in considerable perplexity.

Immediate revelation must, I think, be understood of a far higher operation of the Spirit of God upon the mind of man than that which is universally enjoyed by our species. It is justly represented by Robert Barclay, of whose system of Theology it is

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the primary and fundamental article, as that especial work of the Holy Spirit, by which a true and saving knowledge of divine things is imparted to the soul, and by which the Lord's chosen instruments in different ages have been prepared to communicate these truths to others. By this the patriarchs and prophets of old were instructed in the secrets of a glorious future, and spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. By this the Apostles and their brethren were taught the doctrines of true religion in their evangelical fulness, and were enabled to record them in the New Testament for the instruction of men, in all future ages.

And now, under the enlarged effusion of the Holy Spirit, in connexion with a knowledge of Christianity, which distinguishes the dispensation of the Gospel from that of the law, it is *immediate revelation* by which the eye of the soul is opened to a saving view of the truths thus recorded; it is this by which the Christian believer is guided in his daily path of holiness; it is this by which he is led into those specific and often sacred duties, which belong to his particular place and calling in the church of Christ. "The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you; but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth and no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him." (1 John ii, 27.) This precious anointing—this immediate and perceptible guidance of the Holy Spirit, appears to me to be the grand practical characteristic of the New Covenant; a large and important feature in the whole system of the Gospel. May we ever maintain this blessed principle of truth inviolate! May we neither overrun the Lord's anointing by our natural activity, nor curb and check it by our prejudices and our fears! It is only as it spreads and rules amongst us, that we can ever maintain our true standing in the church of Christ; or fulfil the purposes for which we were raised up of the Lord, to form, for a season at least, a distinct religious community.

No sincere Quaker can entertain a doubt that the immediate influence of the Spirit was the moving cause which gathered our forefathers in the truth; and that it is the root of our peculiar

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Christian testimonies. Here, however, I must observe in passing, that our early Friends were not led into their spiritual views of the Gospel independently of Scripture, but in connexion with the diligent searching of that blessed book. While they renounced all dependence on human wisdom and learning, it was their privilege to maintain a firm, unshaken hold on scriptural Christianity. The Bible, in their view, was not one of the "appendages" of religion; much less did they regard it as "the letter" which "veiled the mysteries of the kingdom." On the contrary, they hailed it as the divine record by which these mysteries are plainly declared to us; it was their treasury of knowledge, their storehouse of materials for the Redeemer's service.

It is by no means my intention, in making these remarks, to convey a notion that the special influences of the Spirit are necessarily confined to those persons who are acquainted with the Gospel. Had such a notion been true, the Scriptures themselves could never have been written; and Paul the Pharisee could never have become a preacher of Christianity. There are few of us, perhaps, who cannot look back to visitations of the Holy Spirit, in the day of our comparative ignorance, which were productive of very tender feelings, and were, in a great degree, independent of external circumstances. May these visitations, so justly comparable to the wind blowing where it listeth, ever be precious in the view of our society! May we be preserved from ascribing any unauthorized limits to the work of an Omnipotent Agent! * * *

It may probably be owing to thy not having sufficiently marked the distinction, in point of degree, between the influence of the Spirit in "immediate revelation," and the light universally bestowed on mankind, that many passages of Scripture are adduced in the "Defence" in support of the latter point, which can scarcely be regarded as applying to the subject. Surely, my dear friend, when the Apostle Peter speaks of the "incorruptible seed" by which the converts to Christianity had been regenerated, and the Apostle James of the "engrafted word" which was "able to save their souls," they must be understood as referring to that

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especial influence of the Spirit, in connexion with a knowledge of the Gospel, by which these believers in Jesus had been delivered from the power of darkness, and translated into the kingdom of the dear Son of God. A similar remark applies, as I conceive, to several of our Lord's parables. He has himself explained the parable of the sower, as relating to the word preached, which withers or flourishes in the hearts of those who hear it, according to their respective characters and conditions. (Matt. xiii, 18—23.) The parables of the grain of mustard seed which became a great tree, and of the little leaven by which the whole lump was leavened, appear to me to be applicable to that double sense in which the kingdom of God is mentioned in the New Testament. Thus they may be regarded as indicating, first, the growth of Christianity in the world, and secondly, the growth in grace of the individual Christian. To both these points the figures in question are beautifully apposite, but where is the evidence of their being here employed to describe a universal light?

Much disadvantage accrues to a good cause when we attempt to support it by evidence which will not bear the test of calm investigation. Nothing is more easy, on such occasions, than so to add our X to our C, as to turn our hundred into ninety. But this result is by no means the worst consequence of such a method of treating the subject of a universal inward light. If we confuse the measure of light bestowed even on the heathen, with the higher influences of the Holy Spirit, if we apply to it those passages of the Scripture which relate to the work of grace, in connexion with revealed religion, we are in danger of losing our sense of the unutterable value of the Gospel of Christ, as the grand instrument of the Spirit in the salvation of sinners. We soon imagine that the heathen may fare as well without a knowledge of Christianity, as with it; and this notion reacts upon ourselves, and undermines our faith in the crucified Immanuel, as our only hope of everlasting glory. No one can examine the history of the late schism in America, or fairly peruse the discourses of Elias Hicks, without perceiving that a disproportioned and exaggerated view of this precious truth, was the stepping-

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stone from which he and his followers plunged into infidelity. While we humbly endeavour to hold fast the truth in question, may we ever set a careful watch against this tremendous danger! * * *

I can readily believe that the author of the Defence does not really intend to insinuate the doctrine, often unjustly ascribed to Friends, that there is in man a native tendency to good as well as to evil. Such a doctrine is utterly opposed to the declarations of Scripture, that the heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked," that we are "by nature the children of wrath," that in us, that is, in our flesh, "there dwelleth no good thing." Any departure from the truth, as it regards this primary article of Christianity, like a wrong figure in the early part of a sum in arithmetic, is sure to produce a train of error. It inevitably leads, as I conceive, to the substitution of another gospel for the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. Believe me, that I give the author of the Defence credit for a willing concurrence with the strong language in which our early Friends were accustomed to express themselves respecting any such substitution. For we do firmly believe that there is NO OTHER GOSPEL or doctrine to be preached but that which hath been already preached BY THE APOSTLES; and do freely subscribe to that saying, "Let him that preacheth any other Gospel than that which hath been already preached by the Apostles, and ACCORDING to the Scriptures, be accursed."—*Barclay's Apology*, prop. III, § 9.

I must now advert to another point, of a most fundamental character, respecting which I would on no account ascribe unsound views to the author of the Defence. Yet I cannot but express my regret at the manner in which he has touched on the subject. * * *

Our [early] Friends frequently declared their belief, first, that "There are three who bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit;" and, secondly, "that these Three are ONE."

"We believe," said George Fox, "concerning God, the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, according to the testimony of the Holy

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Scripture which we receive and embrace as the most authentic and perfect declaration of Christian faith, being indited by the Holy Spirit of God that never errs; first, that there is one God and Father, of whom are all things; secondly, that there is one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom all things were made, who was glorified with the Father before the world began, who is God over all, blessed for ever; thirdly, that there is one Holy Spirit, the promise of the Father and the Son, and leader, and sanctifier, and comforter of his people. And we further believe, as the Holy Scriptures soundly and sufficiently express, that these Three are One, even the Father, the Word, and the Spirit."—*Answer to all such as falsely say the Quakers are not Christians*, p. 27, 1682.

I cannot but compare the mode in which this subject is defined in the Defence, [p. 38,] with the corresponding assertion, [p. 7,] that the term "distinctive offices," as applied to the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, is "altogether unscriptural." I can easily believe that this remark was intended for the purpose of warning some of us against a too precise and systematic method of defining Christian doctrine; and as an individual, I gratefully accept the caution, and confess that in these matters simplicity becomes us as well as clearness. Yet I must assert that, although the term in question is not to be found in the Bible, the doctrine which it obviously conveys is not only clearly scriptural, but absolutely essential as an article of faith. True, indeed, it is, that a perfect unity of counsel and operation as well as nature are ascribed in Scripture to the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. Yet it cannot surely be denied, that, in the economy of grace and redemption, certain acts are ascribed distinctively to the Father, certain others distinctively to the Son, and certain others distinctively to the Spirit. For example, it is declared of the Father *only* that he sent his beloved Son into the world for the salvation of sinners; of the Son *only* that he died on the cross, as a sacrifice for the sins of mankind; and of the Spirit *only*, that he should be sent of the Father and of the Son, to "testify of Christ," that he should take of the things of Christ, and show them to the believer; that

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he should bear witness with our Spirits that we are the children of God. "The Holy Scripture Trinity, or three thereby meant," says George Whitehead, "we never questioned, but believed; as also the unity of essence; that they are one substance, one divine, infinite being; and also we question not, but sincerely believe, the RELATIVE PROPERTIES of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to Holy Scripture testimony, that these three are ONE."—*Works*, p. 195.

Allow me to suggest that there is infinitely more danger in confounding these *relative properties* than in simply maintaining them, as they are declared in Scripture. Dost thou think it is quite desirable to say, "To acknowledge Christ as Saviour is one thing, to feel and know him to be the actuating Spirit is another. —(*Defence*, p. 61.) What is intended by the "Spirit *in* the Comforter," (p. 57,) and when Christ, the eternal word, is described as the "sword (or sharp instrument) of the Spirit?" (p. 97.)

Believe me, that I am as jealous as thou canst be, for the upholding, with all faithfulness and decision, the glorious oneness of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit; and I have pleasure in concluding my remarks on this subject with a few words written by our late dear friend, Jonathan Hutchinson. "While the Christian rejoices in the distinct characters and offices of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, so graciously revealed to us for our instruction and edification, he probably never finds his soul bowed down with so deep a reverence, or filled with so pure a delight, as when he contemplates the Almighty as an ineffable glory, an incommunicable name, an infinite and incomprehensible UNITY."

* * * * * * *

Thus faithfully did Joseph John Gurney labour in private to correct the misapprehensions that appeared to exist on both sides of the controversy. He now entered upon the more public service allotted to him in Lancashire, as one of the Committee appointed by the late Yearly Meeting.

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Referring to this engagement in his Autobiography, he writes:—

Our committee consisted of thirteen individuals, viz:—William Allen, Peter Bedford, Edward Pease, Joseph Tatham, Barnard Dickenson, William Forster, Josiah Forster, George Richardson, Samuel Tuke, Edward Ash, Joseph Marriage, myself, and George Stacey, who acted as clerk, I may truly say, with great ability. Manchester was the place of peculiar difficulty; and after some conferences with the ministers and elders of that meeting, the committee proceeded with the scriptural examination of the Beacon. In this work I was closely engaged; it was, indeed, no common labour; but it was the means of bringing the members of the committee into very intimate communication one with another; a free interchange of sentiment, in a high degree instructive and profitable. Our strictures have since been printed, and, whatever any objectors may think of them, three points are undeniable; first, that they try the Beacon by no test whatever but simple Scripture; secondly, that they fully support all the cardinal features of evangelical truth; and thirdly, that they are written in the spirit of true love and kindness towards our dissentient brother, who was the object of our solicitude. We left them in his hands for his calm consideration; and, after the rest of the committee had departed, I gave up two or three days to the further explanation of our views to him in private; and I remember leaving him in tears after a highly favoured meeting one fifth day morning.

My dear wife was my companion during this first visit to Manchester. On leaving that place (7th month, 2nd) we proceeded to Matlock, where we had the delight of meeting my sister Rachel Fowler with my children. Happy, yet very touching is the recollection of this, the last journey which we took together, through Derbyshire and North Wales. I held a certificate for convening public meetings as the way might open, and many very interesting ones were held at Matlock, Bakewell, Castleton, Llangollen, Conway, Cacrnarvon, Barmouth, Dolgelly,

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and some other places. Perhaps the most remarkable was that held at Castleton, in the Peak Cavern; a great part of the population of the town, and many from the neighbouring villages assembled on the occasion, and the Great Head of the church graciously condescended to bestow his presence upon us in that noble natural temple. Others of the meetings were held in the open air, which appeared to answer a good purpose. I believe we all felt that the pleasure of the journey was greatly increased by the engagements of a higher nature which devolved upon us from time to time as we proceeded. The contemplation of the sublimity and beauty of nature is in true harmony with such services; and nothing is more salutary than to bear in mind that the God of nature is also the God of grace; that the Lord of the heavenly host, (even of the stars that deck the firmament,) is the Holy One of Israel.

Whilst on this journey he had much pleasure in making the acquaintance, at Barmouth, of the late Dr. Olinthus Gregory, "a most agreeable and instructive companion." In his Journal he writes:—

7th mo., 20th. Morning spent at Barmouth. Fourteen Cambridge students to meet the Gregorys at dinner; instructive conversation till six o'clock, when we drove off, along that beautiful estuary, to Dolgelly, having parted from our friends, old and young, in much friendship and love. Dr. Gregory gave us an interesting account of Hutton and Bonnycastle, his two predecessors in the mathematical chair at Woolwich; awful instances, especially the latter, of the danger of permitting science to exclude religion.

They returned home by way of Coalbrookdale, where a large meeting was held with the work people of the Iron Factory, about 2000 being assembled on the occasion; "a blessed meeting, I humbly trust," he remarks in his Journal, "and greatly to the relief of my own mind."

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8th mo., 3rd. Seven weeks have sped their rapid, interesting course, since my last entry in this journal. During these weeks, the catalogue of deaths has been affectingly increased by the decease of my truly dear friend, Lord Suffield, in consequence of a fall from his horse. It has been a great blow to me, and a very painful loss, both private and public; a sad loss as it relates to the poor blacks in our colonies, of whose sufferings, under the apprenticeship system, we hear grievous, heart-rending accounts. Lord Suffield died in the faith of a Christian, in humble reliance on the atonement of Christ. He spoke to Sir B. Brodie of the blessing which had mercifully rested on my feeble labours with him, in a religious point of view; which has been a comfort to me. Our dear cousin, G. Allen,* has also escaped from the infirmities of mortality. The sudden death of John Shelly, of Yarmouth, a highly useful character, after attending a Parliamentary Committee, leaving a large family, has excited much feeling. The good do indeed seem to be remarkably taken away! The cry has been afresh raised in my heart, "O that I may die the death of the righteous," and a sweet hope, and even belief, has been graciously given, that the death of the Christian believer will be mine. Yesterday such a precious assurance of divine favour was permitted, as I have not of late often experienced. What a mercy to be brought at times to a living sense of the rule of Christ over all!

Whilst at Conway he had been much interested with several persons in comparatively humble circumstances, whose minds appeared remarkably open to the spirituality of the Gospel. To one of these he subsequently wrote the following letter. The individual to whom it was addressed, on being called upon, fifteen years afterwards, by a relation of Joseph John Gurney's, alluded to his visit with tears.

* The wife of his friend William Allen.

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Earlham, 9th, mo., 1835.

It was pleasant to us to hear from thee, and we are glad that thou and our friend ——— are pleased with the present of books.

The Observations on our Distinguishing Views would give thee some idea of the various particulars which Friends have seen in a more spiritual light than many of their fellow-Christians. I thought when I was at Conway that we were not much disagreed upon these subjects. It is a very blessed thing to know something of the immediate teaching and guidance of the Holy Spirit so graciously bestowed upon us by our dear Redeemer. "The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you, but as this same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth and no lie, and even as it hath taught you ye shall abide in him." (1 John ii, 27.)

I feel a strong desire that thou mayest be enabled to obey the teaching of this divine "anointing," although it may and will lead thee in the way of the cross. "Except a man take up his cross and follow me he cannot be my disciple," said the best and holiest of masters. As thou "followest on" to know and serve the Lord who bought thee with his blood, the truth will be more and more unfolded to thee in its beauty and purity, and thou wilt be led, I believe, out of all those things, even of a religious character, which are in the will of man, and brought to a more simple and unreserved dependence on the wisdom, power, and goodness of God. What a blessed thing would the worship of Christians be, were there less in it of the mere activity of the human mind, and more of patient, reverent waiting upon the Lord, in the silence of all flesh! And how sweet and enlivening would be the ministry of the gospel were it exercised under the immediate influence of the Spirit of Christ! Then would the Great Head of the church enable his servants livingly to baptize their hearers "into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

I am pleased to find that thou art prepared to agree with my view of plainness. The plain and simple mode of address as well as attire, which Friends have thought it right to adopt, sometimes

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exposes them to ridicule; but a little consideration may suffice to show that it is quite consistent with the principles and precepts of the New Testament. I hope thou wilt be enabled to be faithful even in these matters; and that thy light will, in all things, shine before men to the glory of God the Father.

Seek daily and more often than the day, for retirement before the Lord; and pour out thy heart to him in fervent prayer. Take care never to neglect the deliberate reading of the Holy Scriptures, both in private and in thy family circle, and may thy wife be of one mind with thee in following and serving the Lord!

TO PRISCILLA JOHNSTON.

Earlham, 8th mo., 8th, 1835.

* * * I have been much interested by reading Lord Brougham's Discourse on Natural Theology. He has some strong points on the right side, and is a noble defender, not only of the wisdom and goodness of God as revealed in created things, but also of the immateriality, independent existence, and immortality of the soul. But he nevertheless treats his subject like a man who has but little knowledge of scriptural religion. I am quite aware that natural theology has its own proper department, and I own I have a great delight in it, and would have it kept distinct. Yet no man can ever truly unfold it, who does not know and love Christianity. It is just here that one perceives the difference between Brougham and Butler.

I leave home again under some difficulty, but the object is of so much importance that it must be no common bond that would retain me there. I have often thought of thy hint about Manchester, referring us to the Lord as the lover of even balances. This remark exactly applies to our need in this case. May he graciously bestow and preserve amongst us that evenness of balance which he so justly loves.

The illness of his beloved daughter, who, since their return to Earlham, had been seized with typhus fever, occasioned Joseph John Gurney much anxiety, especially in

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the prospect of again resuming his labours at Manchester, where the committee had appointed to meet on the 10th of the 8th month.

"The work, however" he writes in his Autobiography, "was too important to be neglected, and, hard as was the struggle, yet, with the sanction of our medical attendant, I pursued what appeared to be the path of duty. Our meeting was an important one. Isaac Crewdson's answer to our Strictures was before us, and contained much that seemed to evince his continued attachment to the views of Friends. In a private conference he made some further declarations, which were satisfactory to the committee; and these, through my earnest persuasion, were at last reduced by him to writing, handed to the committee, and recorded in our minutes. They were read to Friends in the committee of the Quarterly Meeting, and afforded, on the whole, so good a hope of reconciliation, that we resolved to quit the scene of action for several months, trusting that, with the Lord's blessing, the swelling billows on all sides would subside into quietness, and the mischief produced by the controversy die out and cease. In this glad hope I returned home, and had the happiness to find my daughter recovering."

But he was now once more permitted to be plunged into deep affliction. It was an unlooked for stroke. His beloved wife, whose health had, of late years, much improved, had been unremitting in her attentions to his daughter during her late illness, without apparently suffering in consequence. The disease was, however, lurking in her constitution, and after some time made its appearance. The fever gradually gained ground, and she sank under it on the 29th of the 9th month.

From his Autobiography:—

When we became aware of the nature of her complaint, it appeared of so mild a character that we were by no means very

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anxious. A decided prevalence of hope cheered us as the disease advanced to its crisis; and it was no small happiness to wait upon the beloved object of our care, and observe her quiet, comfortable and even lively condition. Precious were the religious opportunities which we enjoyed together from day to day. At length, however, delirium came on; weakness rapidly increased, and I was brought to the inexpressibly afflicting point of surrendering my dearest earthly treasure. For almost thirty hours before her end, she lay in a state of insensibility after which, though speechless, she suddenly recovered her powers of perception, recognised us one after another, and expressed her joy and happiness by the most radiant smiles. It was like the bursting forth of the setting sun from under the dark clouds. Cordial was her response to the remark that "Jesus Christ is all in all;" and her answer to the question "Whether she was comfortable," was the most remarkable exhibition of delight which could be given by mere motion and expression. I am not aware that I ever witnessed such an appearance of ecstatic pleasure. I say so with reverent thankfulness to the Author of all our mercies. From this state of bright effulgence, she sank into a gentle calm; and in a few minutes, without the least struggle, breathed her last. I knelt down and returned heartfelt thanksgiving for her deliverance in Christ, from every trouble.

TO A NEAR RELATIVE.

Earlham, 10th mo., 2nd, 1835.

* * * I begin in some degree to understand where I am, which, during the first two days after the awful and unexpected stroke, I found to be difficult. The "inbreathings" of the Holy Spirit to which thy letter alludes, are my support and comfort under this truly bitter sorrow. My own secret infirmity of mind almost passes conception; but I am permitted to feel and to know assuredly that there is an influence from above, which restrains the buffetings of Satan, brings all into soundness, sweetness, and calmness, and enables me to rejoice in her happiness, and even on my own account to give thanks.

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Never have I known such a combination as I found in her of a strong and lucid intellect, a sound judgment, great amiability and generosity, and deep, abiding piety. Her views of religious truth were of a very comprehensive and well-balanced kind, and it was her joy and strength to abide under the teaching of the Lord's "anointing." This, in fact, was the grand secret of her excellence, connected as it was with a daily and diligent study of the Holy Scriptures. She was admirably versed in the Greek Testament; and used to read it to me with a fluency and beauty of pronunciation, and with a nice spiritual and critical discernment of its meaning which I have seldom known equalled. A more adapted companion it was impossible for any man to have found, and the blank and loss must be in proportion. I am, however, most thankful for having enjoyed her society during more than eight years, and undue sorrow is precluded by some living sense of the fulness which is in Christ.

The following stanzas written by Joseph John Gurney after her decease, and subsequently published by him as part of the Christian's Race, beautifully describe her character.

Her's was the cultur'd and the lucid mind,
The generous heart, the conduct ever kind,
The temper sensitive, yet always mild,
The frank simplicity of nature's child—
Nature unspoiled by fashion or by pride,
And yet subdued by grace, and sanctified;
The cheerfulness, devoid of base alloy,
That bade her speed her even course with joy,
Yet left full scope thro' her revolving years,
For love's fond grief and pity's softest tears;
The abstinence from self—a humble view
Of all she said, and did, and thought, and knew;
The elder's judgment in the youthful frame,
And love to God and man, a deathless flame.

* * * * * * *

Blest was our union; all that life endears
Brightened the current of those rapid years,
Brightened and swelled;—around her bounty flowed,
Her soul, enlarging, with fresh fervour glowed;

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Her views of truth extending more and more,
As Scripture, daily studied, spread its store.
'Twas hers each rougher wave of life to smooth,
To advise and comfort, elevate and soothe.
Fondly we hoped, when, with no faltering voice
She bade her friends in Jesus Christ rejoice,
Fondly we hoped, her gifts with years would grow
To enlarge, improve, the struggling church below;
But God ordained a higher walk of love,
In boundless regions, with the blest above;
The summons came, the accepted hour was given
Her sainted spirit smiled and sprang to heaven.

More than a hundred letters which have been preserved amongst his papers manifest the deep feeling which the event awakened in the circle of his numerous friends. From these a very brief selection only can be here given.

FROM ELIZABETH DUDLEY.

Peckham, 9th mo., 30th, 1835.

What can I say to thee, my beloved friend and brother, in this the day of thy calamity, that is not likely to be said by other nearly interested sympathising friends, and suggested immediately to thy own mind, as a source of encouragement and comfort? Happily, thou knowest where to look for availing succour, and hast proved the faithfulness of him, who, whilst he sees meet to afflict and wound, sustains by his own almighty arm, and pours the balm of heavenly consolation upon the sorrowful and bleeding heart. In the darkest dispensations of his providence, the eye of faith perceives a bright spot whereon to rest; though joy may be far from the dwelling, and, for a season, sadness and mourning be not only allowed but called for and sanctioned. She whom we have lost was lovely and justly beloved in an extensive circle of relatives and friends. Her endearing qualities and sincere piety, awakened respect and affection where the acquaintance was but slight; while with intimate knowledge, nearness of regard and union seemed increased by every fresh interview, and her capacity

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for usefulness in various ways more and more developed. I was peculiarly sensible of these feelings when we were last together; and my heart became bound to her, in tender and religious fellowship, to a degree which was surprising to myself, and made the parting painful, though attended with sweetness.

I trust thou wilt be kept in calmness and resignation, knowing "that it is the Lord." He will be mercifully with thee in the furnace, and in his own time bring thee out uninjured, with fresh capacity to serve and praise him.

FROM THE BISHOP OF NORWICH.

(then in his 91st year.)

London, October 3rd, 1835.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,

Taught by severe experience, no one can know better than I do how to estimate your loss; a loss for which you want no Bishop to remind you that there is only one remedy.

Yours ever most sincerely and affectionately,

HENRY NORWICH.

FROM DR. OLINTHUS GREGORY.

Woolwich, 19th October, 1835.

* * * What a mercy, that in the midst of the darkness and desolation, the grief and the agony, in which so heavy a stroke leaves an affectionate spirit, you are not without "strong consolation." You have lost her whom your soul loved, but blessed be God, *only for a season*. A few more years of active exertion in promoting the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, and then you, dear friend, will be called to your reward, and she and you will again meet to separate no more for ever. * * * Doubtless you are often called back in your mournful meditations to think how happy your dear wife *was*, and how happy she made others; yet you will, I trust, by the merciful supply of grace and consolation, be enabled to point your meditations in the opposite direction, and think how happy she *is*—how everything now,

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without the slightest drawback, augments her bliss. O! the ineffable delights of that state, in which there is a perpetual increase of knowledge without any mixture of error; a glorious measure of holiness without the least degree of sin; constant peace and joy without the slightest intermixture of solicitude, sorrow, weariness, or pain; the most pleasing, refreshing, unwearying society, in which no misconception of motive, sentiment, or principle can enter; the uninterrupted exercise of the purest love; "the spirits of the just made perfect" intermingling their energies and their excellencies in an ever augmenting, ever flowing stream. All rests upon the rock of the divine veracity, binding upon our hearts and confirming to our faith, the deep conviction that all the ineffable delights, all the high prerogatives "of the saints in light," are stamped with the seal of *eternity*. How do we read again, and again, and again, of "everlasting life," "eternal glory," "the everlasting kingdom," going "no more out for ever," "an enduring substance," "pleasures for evermore," "an incorruptible crown," "a kingdom which cannot be moved," "a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." And why is this placed before us in so rich a variety of forms? but that we may trust the record even when we cannot trace the hand, and cherish the persuasion that when our Heavenly Father removes from us our dearest delights, he takes what is his more than ours, and transplants them to a higher region, his providence concurring with his grace in saying, "Come up hither."

From his sister Elizabeth Fry, who had been with him on the occasion of the funeral he received the following:—

Upton Lane, 10th mo., 14th, 1835.

I have exceedingly missed your dear, sorrowful party, and felt a certain painful lowness in being out of the sweet, solemn, holy atmosphere, that surely we appeared to live in from day to day. Sorrow passeth through many variations of feeling. On coming to the stripped, low, and at times tossed estate, when simple faith, and not present consolation, must be our stay, there is need to

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possess the soul in patience; and thus to wait for the fresh opening of the springs of hope and consolation. When I wake at night and in the morning, I think of thee in thy lonely condition; but I rest confidently assured that thy Lord will be thy stay, and, however high at times the waves may appear to arise, they never shall overflow thee.

I have had several sweet glances at the kingdom where all is rest, peace, joy, and full satisfaction; but when a prospect of this state is permitted, then the fear enters lest those we love, and perhaps ourselves at last, should fall short of it,—there are so many hindrances here,—and then again some joy is felt over the beloved departed; the warfare accomplished,—what a consideration! May we continue in faith, patience, humility, and dedication, to fight the good fight, until we come to the same blessed end. The time is short, therefore we must go on, nothing doubting, remembering that "faithful is he that calleth us, who also will do it," and in him we must wholly trust.

I am truly, thy most loving and sympathizing sister,

E. Fry.

P.S.—Jonathan Hutchinson once said to me, "schoolmasters give *apt* scholars *hard* lessons." So with *our* Master; this thou mayst take home.

"The present stage of my grief," writes Joseph John Gurney, to a relative, a few weeks after his bereavement, "is one marked by some peculiarly trying and sorrowful feelings, and much conflict has been occasionally my portion. But I believe that nothing will do but patient bearing, and waiting in hope for brighter and better things. This I strive after, and can gratefully acknowledge that I am surrounded with many precious alleviations, and am not forsaken by the God of all hope and comfort."

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CHAPTER XXIX.

1835—1837. ÆT. 48—49.

THIRD AND FOURTH VISITS TO MANCHESTER; EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL; YEARLY MEETING; CONCLUSION OF THE LABOURS OF THE COMMITTEE; JOURNEY IN SCOTLAND AND THE NORTH OF ENGLAND; PROSPECT OF VISIT TO NORTH AMERICA; LETTERS; GRANTING OF CERTIFICATES.

AMIDST this deep sorrow, Joseph John Gurney was again called to his painful duties in Lancashire. The Yearly Meeting's committee had appointed to meet at Manchester, in the twelfth month. "May the Lord open my way in the path of duty," he writes in his Journal, "and provide for all my need by the riches which are in Christ!"

FROM WILLIAM FORSTER.

Bradpole, 10th mo., 27th, 1835.

* * * I have often wished that I could write and tell thee with what fulness of sympathy I was bearing thee in constant remembrance. It was much more of an effort to me than I was willing any of you should know, to turn my back on Earlham, but most of all to break away from thee. I had been so entirely at home with thee, and thou hadst been so much to me—every thing that a friend could be—and I had partaken so largely with you of the peace, and joy, and hope, with which you had been sustained, that it required as much resolution as I could command, to pursue the course it seemed best for me to adopt; and it was

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long before I could feel that I had actually left you. Throughout the day I had such a sense of thy affliction, and thy conflict of mind, and such assurance of our Saviour's love and care towards thee, that I was glad to be left very much to myself, and did not wish for the best of conversation to divert my attention from that which had such full possession of my mind and feelings. I had books enough, but I had not much inclination to read them, for I had enough to do to think where I had been, and what I had witnessed; and I dwelt upon that which I had seen of the power of the grace of God, much to my instruction and to the confirmation of my faith. * * *

I look forward with much comfort to our impending journey together into the north. Friends seem as if they could not give up the hope of having *thee* there.

In what I have written, I have told thee but little of my feeling of the past, the present, and the future, as it relates to thee, and all the hope and confidence I have for thee. What a pleasure will it be if in any way I should be of the least use or comfort to thee!

The following are from Joseph John Gurney's Journal:—

11*th mo.*, 8*th*. The last week has passed very smoothly; our dear little home party uninterrupted, and our course of study pursued diligently; but the tone of my own mind has been very low, and the conflict occasionally severe. I believe that, through infinite mercy, I have not murmured; but indeed I have nothing to look to, nothing to depend upon, except the one great source of hope and consolation, the infinite and unmerited mercy of God in Christ Jesus.

11*th mo.*, 10*th*. I feel this morning, in some degree willing and desirous to leave, (forget I cannot,) that which is behind, and press forward in hope. Yet there is a holy forgetfulness of that which is behind, at which the Christian pilgrim must aim, and to which he is sometimes enabled to attain in the name of the Lord.

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12*th mo.*, 9*th*. I have completed my evidence on the Beacon, &c., and, after some inexpressible conflict, find myself ready for our journey to Manchester. We hope to set off to-morrow morning.

In allusion to this visit he writes:—

1*st mo.*, 8*th*, 1836. All the committee, except two, met on seventh day morning, the 12th ult. It was a great favour that I found an opportunity during this first morning of our labours, to read to the committee the whole of my strictures on various demi-unsound pamphlets, which laid a clear foundation for further arduous service in the working of our business.

The committee concluded its operations, for the present, on seventh day evening, the 2nd instant, at Manchester. Such a fortnight it has never been my lot to pass before. The engagement of mind; the intensity of thought and feeling; the strong and clear expositions of sentiment; the singular turns of Providence; and, above all, the gentle, unseen, resistless influence of the "anointing," and the grace and goodness of our ever present Care taker and Holy Head, were, during this period, most remarkably displayed.

During the whole time, though not unfrequently finding relief in tears, I was mercifully sustained in quiet peacefulness, not without an occasional flow of natural pleasure, and, I believe, of joy in the Holy Ghost. I have repeatedly said, that the inexpressible sufferings through which I had previously been passing, seemed to me but an adequate preparation for the peculiar, new, and difficult duties which devolved upon me, a poor, weak, and blind one, during this memorable and important time. * * *

From his Autobiography:—

Strong were the currents setting in from opposite quarters, both of which required to be stemmed. When I was on the scene of action, my private conflicts disappeared, and I was graciously strengthened, from day to day, for the extremely

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difficult path in which I believed it my duty to tread. Of one thing I think I am sure, that, both in public and private I was enabled to bear an unflinching testimony to the truth as it is in Jesus Christ our Saviour: the Lord alone be praised for it.

The result of the visit was, first the decision of the committee, (reported to the Monthly Meeting,) not to recommend disciplinary proceedings on the doctrinal question of the Beacon; and secondly, to hand Isaac Crewdson their private advice to withdraw *for a time*, from public ministry, and from attending the meetings of ministers and elders. The two conclusions, in my opinion, were not inconsistent with each other; both arising, by a kind of necessity, from the circumstances of the case. But, indeed, some of us on that occasion, were called on to endure a 'fight of afflictions.'

Whilst I had no unity with the spirit of disaffection and restlessness which marked the course of our dissentient Friends, I found it my place in the whole affair, to set a strong guard against opposite dangers; and these I had from time to time to press upon the attention of my brethren. The committee adjourned to the fourth month, (1836) and I spent much of the intermediate time in drawing up my Remarks on the Defence, (written in reply to the Beacon,) which have been printed for private use, but not published; also in extracting from several other modern publications of Friends, (wholly unauthorized by the Society,) passages which appeared to me to be erroneous and dangerous, tending (without the smallest intention on the part of the writers,) to the weakening of the true faith of the Christian. Fully and faithfully did I lay the subject before my brethren on my return to Manchester; and, the author of the Defence having removed out of the scope of the committee's labours, I spent a morning in company with Josiah and William Forster, and another member of the committee, in reading my remarks on his work to the men elders of the meeting, of which he had before been a member. They were also sent to the author himself, who, I may add, is a truly amiable and pious individual.

Isaac Crewdson having substantially complied with the advice

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of the committee respecting his ministry, nothing further was done in his case, in the fourth month. Some other features in the general question of disunity among Friends, were, however, closely attended to: and we again left Manchester in peace. On my return home, I continued to pursue the object to which I have already alluded, and wrote the Strictures on Truth Vindicated. This publication, teeming as it does with the kind of error I am speaking of, was written by an anonymous author in Wales, once, but not now, a member of our body. It is a work of no small ability, and had been (through carelessness, I trust,) circulated and patronized by many Friends. Under these circumstances, some check was essential. When the Strictures were finished, I laid them before the Morning Meeting, which, of course, did not commit itself to the controversy; but, after some discussion, set me at liberty to publish them, giving an explicit verdict that no sentiment was advanced in my pamphlet at variance with the principles of the Society of Friends. Two thousand copies were rapidly sold; and I look back on this little service in the cool of the present hour, with much satisfaction and thankfulness.

From his Journal:—

2nd mo., 21st. I feel thankful that I have not been moved by anything which has occurred, from my own position in the society. A little hope yet lives that a remnant will be preserved alive in the truth, and enabled steadily to maintain it in its *wholeness*. That hope is simply and solely in Christ; for in these days, the wisdom of man is more than ever foolishness. O most gracious Lord God, who didst, as I reverently believe, raise us up to be a people, graciously condescend to show forth thy matchless power for our deliverance from all the snares of Satan; and be pleased according to thy wonted lovingkindness, to guide me, thy poor unworthy servant, in the path of simple duty, and show me from day to day wherein thou wouldst have me and my children to serve thee, O Lord, my God! Suffer not one, who has preached to others, to become himself a castaway. Anoint me with abundance of the fresh oil of thy kingdom; prepare and

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direct my work; and enable me, I earnestly beseech thee, with a single eye, to seek thy honour and glory, who alone art worthy, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

4th mo., 3rd. [Referring to his labours in connexion with some controversial pamphlets.] As far as I can judge, it is the present line of duty; [though] in various respects uphill and arduous, and one in which I may expect rebuke and suffering. But "if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God." And in the presence of the Most High, and under some precious feeling of it, I think I can say with truth, that my heart does *not* condemn me for being thus engaged. O that I may be yet more delivered from the fear of man! more clothed with holy boldness as well as meekness! O that I may, in the conduct of this warfare, take every step under the authority of the Lord's anointing, and not *one* step without that authority!

As a general principle, I must surely be right in pleading for simple, unalloyed, scriptural truth. May the great ruler and head of the church graciously condescend to endue me with wisdom, love, and strength, that I may be preserved from doing the least harm, and that the pleasure of the Lord may prosper in my hands! While these desires have been much awakened, I feel the necessity of rising above the turmoils of the day, and of knowing my soul to be really fixed on a better and holier world.

Most merciful Lord God! Be pleased, I humbly beseech thee, to obliterate all my past sins in the blood of Jesus, and plenteously to endue me with wisdom and strength, by the power of the Holy Ghost; that I may be enabled to stand and advance in my rank of righteousness, according to thy blessed will, for the benefit of thy church, and for a purpose of thy glory, Amen and Amen.

Amidst Joseph John Gurney's other, and very different engagements at this period, he found time to write a short tract on a subject in which he had been long interested. This he published in the spring of this year, under the title of A Letter to a Clerical Friend on the accordance of

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Geological Discovery with Natural and Revealed Religion.* Deeply as he was convinced of the inspiration of Holy Scripture, and steadily as he was opposed to any theory of the creation not reconcileable with the inspired record, he was well assured that the investigations of an enlightened science, when conducted in a proper spirit, can, in the end, serve only the more completely to illustrate the harmony of the Divine mind as manifested for purposes distinct, yet not contradictory, in the book of nature and the book of grace. "Let Geology," he writes in one of his letters, "have her full scope in discovering the ancient secrets of the crust of the earth—she will wonderfully elucidate natural theology, and inflict no wound on the religion of the Bible." To illustrate this view is the object of this little tract, which may still be read with interest, notwithstanding the increased light that further research has thrown upon the subject.

TO HIS SISTER ELIZABETH FRY.

Norwich, 1st mo., 19th, 1836.

I have a surplus fund, which I think I ought to dispose of, at the winding up of the year 1835, and had been thinking of sending thee a portion of it, to which thou art perfectly welcome. I order Barclay and Co. to pay thy draft for the amount. Pray do not allow thyself any compunction or hesitation on this point. I shall always depend on thy being perfectly free in mentioning thy needs to me. In fact, it is a kindness, as I do not consider that my circumstances justify much, if any accumulation.

In the fifth month, as usual, he attended the Yearly Meeting. Referring to it in the Autobiography, he says:—

* This tract is reprinted in the Minor Works, Vol. ii, p. 201.

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The Yearly Meeting of 1836 was a time of no small interest and importance. Although considerable excitement was produced by the unexpected visit to this country of Elisha Bates, without any certificate from his Monthly Meeting, yet on the whole, the prospect of an increased degree of good fellowship seemed to brighten upon us. In consequence of the unfair questioning which had arisen on the Society's views of the Holy Scriptures, it was agreed to issue a declaration on that subject. I ventured to state to the Yearly Meeting what I apprehended ought to be the substance of it. These suggestions were afterwards adopted; the declaration was brought in and passed, with the warm concurrence of the body at large. It formed a part of the general epistle, which was carefully drawn up by a judicious committee, and which I believe to be as clear and important a document, considered as a confession of faith, as was ever put forth by a body of professing Christians; and it certainly ought to be received as a sufficient reply to all doubters and cavillers on the subject of the Christian belief of the Society of Friends.* This issue of the Yearly Meeting afforded to my own mind a most acceptable relief.

* The portion of the Yearly Meeting's epistle alluded to, is as follows:—

"Often as our religious society has declared its belief in the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, and upheld the sacred volume as the only divinely authorized record of the doctrines of true religion, we believe it right at this time to revive some important declarations of Scripture itself, on the subject. It is expressly declared by the Apostle Peter, that, "the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost:" 2 Pet. i, 21. The Apostle John declares respecting the Gospel which he wrote, "These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing, ye might have life through his name:" John xx, 31. Very pertinent and comprehensive is the language which the Apostle Paul addressed to Timothy; "From a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus. All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works:" 2 Tim. iii, 15—17. Again, the Apostle says, "Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope:" Rom. xv, 4. Finally, our blessed Lord, in reference to those divine writings, of

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Earlham, 7th mo., 10th. Some missionaries of the London Missionary Society came to us on fourth day morning. Williams's account of the South Seas highly interesting and instructive; about 250,000 nominal Christians now in the islands of the Pacific, with rather a larger proportion, as he thinks, of real Christians, than in this country. The history of Raratonga, discovered and christianized by his own instrumentality, very striking. In itself worth living for!

TO ANNA GURNEY AND SARAH M. BUXTON;

(then on an extended tour on the Continent of Europe.)

Earlham, 7th mo., 1st, 1836.

I am quite pleased to be invited by Priscilla Johnston to contribute to a parcel of letters for the "Ambassador's bag," for

which the grand object, in accordance with his own declaration, was to testify of himself, emphatically declares "the Scripture cannot be broken:" John x, 35.

"Although most of these passages relate to the Old Testament, our society has always freely acknowledged that the principles developed in them, are equally applicable to the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles. In conformity with these principles, it has ever been, and still is, the belief of the Society of Friends, that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were given by inspiration of God; that, therefore, the declarations contained in them, rest on the authority of God himself; and there can be no appeal from them to any other authority whatsoever; that they are able to make us wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus, being the appointed means of making known to us the blessed truths of Christianity: that they are the only divinely authorized record of the doctrines which we are bound as Christians to believe, and of the moral principles which are to regulate our actions: that no doctrine which is not contained in them can be required of any one to be believed as an article of faith: that whatsoever any man says or does which is contrary to the Scriptures, though under profession of the immediate guidance of the Spirit, must be reckoned and accounted a mere delusion.

"We trust, however, that none of our members will content themselves with merely entertaining a sound view on this subject; but that they will remember that the Holy Scriptures are given to us that they may be diligently used, and that we may obtain a right understanding of them in the fear of the Lord. Let us never forget that their main purpose is, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, to bring us to our Lord Jesus Christ, that by a living, operative faith in him, we may obtain reconciliation with the Father, and be made partakers of everlasting life."

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I assure you that though so far out of sight, you are anything but out of mind to me.

I suppose that you are, as far as you can be, missionaries; and that wherever you are, you do not forget the blessedness of divine truth, either for yourselves or others. * * *

We are settled again at our delightful home. I am surrounded with many comforts, and my dear sister Rachel Fowler's being now fairly settled with us, is a satisfaction to us all. The Yearly Meeting was a good one, and served some important purposes. We put forth a noble declaration respecting the Scriptures, and on some points of doctrine, in our General Epistle. I hope it will settle some who had before been very restless. But my path in these matters is still somewhat thorny and anxious. Indeed we have "need of patience," that after we "have done the will of God" we may "receive the promise."

In the course of the summer Joseph John Gurney was occupied in various religious engagements amongst Friends and others, principally in his own county.

"It was a time," he remarks in his Autobiography, "during which I had much to suffer, not only from missing my dearest earthly companion, but from the weakness of my nervous system; yet in the blessed influence of the Spirit, the Comforter, and in the exercise of ministerial labour, I found, from time to time, the requisite relief. This was particularly the case in two of the visits, one to Lowestoft and Pakefield, where my dear sister Richenda Cunningham was a special helper; and the other to Wells and Holkham. In the latter I had some rather intimate communication with Lady Anne Coke, for whom I have long entertained a sincere friendship; and, at night, read the Scriptures and ministered to the whole family, guests and household, from seventy to eighty in number. It was a time of much solemnity, and reminded me of the visit to Knowsley, already recorded in this Memoir. Thomas William Coke,* is the prince of British

* Afterwards Earl of Leicester.

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commoners, now a very old man, a complete gentleman of the old school, eminently courteous, and remarkable for a frank, honest demeanour. I was with him some time since, at his one hundred and first half-yearly audit, when 110 tenants came to dine with him and pay their rents."

In the autumn of this year he was again closely engaged with the other members of the Yearly Meeting's committee in Lancashire, and was also much occupied in a somewhat extended course of religious labour in the North of England and in Scotland. Of these engagements he has preserved the following record in the Autobiography:—

When the committee met at Manchester, in the 9th month, 1836, we soon learned that, since the Yearly Meeting, our friend Isaac Crewdson had re-commenced and continued his ministerial functions without reserve; and at the same time it was evident, that so far was unity from being restored, that the breach had become wider than ever; so much so as to render it increasingly clear, that principles were at work, on either side, which operated to make the distance between Friends and the dissentients greater and greater.

This was indicated by a variety of circumstances; but more especially by certain devotional meetings held by the dissentients, on first day evenings, and conducted on principles of worship, essentially different from ours. Was it right that under these circumstances, our still valued friend, the author of the Beacon, should continue to act as a minister in our meetings, notwithstanding the advice of the committee, that he should for a time withdraw from the service? Was it possible for us, as faithful servants of the Yearly Meeting, to leave this difficult case without further care, and just in this position? Constrained, as we were, to answer these questions in the negative, what course remained for us to follow? None, as I conceive, but that which we adopted; namely, that of taking no further responsibility on ourselves, and of simply reporting the actual state of the case to the church,

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in which, by our discipline, reside, in all such cases, both the authority and responsibility, under its holy Head. We therefore went to the Monthly Meeting with a simple report of the fact, (already published to the world by Isaac Crewdson's friends,) that the committee had advised him to desist for a time, from his public ministry, and of the further well-known circumstance, that this advice had been disregarded.

No sooner was this report read to the Monthly Meeting, than Isaac Crewdson's friends demanded of us a clear declaration of the grounds on which the advice in question had been given. The meeting agreed to request the committee to answer the inquiry. We accordingly withdrew to consider our reply; and then it was that I felt it to be my clear duty, decidedly to stand forth in defence of our well-known principles. I therefore voluntarily undertook to give the answer to the Monthly Meeting. Friends freely accepted the offer. We returned to the meeting; and, under a measure of holy anointing, graciously afforded, as I believe, for the occasion, I was enabled quietly, and with sufficient clearness, to state the grounds of our advice. Nothing of importance was said in reply; the question was drawing to its inevitable settlement; and, after a long and painful discussion, in which the committee refrained from taking any side, (as to the yea or nay,) the meeting came to a solid conclusion, to confirm the advice of the committee. * * *

We now left Manchester, agreeing to meet again in about five weeks; an interval of no small value and relief to myself, though filled up by labour as well as pleasure. Be it ever remembered, that, in the cause of Christ, labour is pleasure! It was on a seventh day that I went from Manchester to York, where I met my children and their aunt Rachel Fowler. The sabbath was spent at York, and a large public meeting held in the evening. On the following morning, a meeting of peculiar solemnity took place, greatly to the comfort of my own mind. It was with the patients in the "Retreat;"* and afforded me renewed evidence

* An establishment for the insane near York.

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of a fact of which I had been before convinced, that insanity in its more moderate degrees, by no means prevents the worship of Almighty God; and further, that the public acts of worship are highly soothing to persons afflicted with that worst of natural maladies. On the occasion now mentioned, many of the poor sufferers found relief in abundant tears, and I trust some ability was afforded us, even to rejoice together in the Lord our Redeemer.

From York we proceeded to Darlington, where we spent a few interesting days. It was a great pleasure to find ourselves under the roof of our cousins Jonathan and Hannah C. Backhouse. They had been travelling for some years in America, and great was the comfort of their friends in their restoration to their home and family.

Whilst at Darlington I felt much interested in the religious welfare of the coal-pit men in that neighbourhood; there being too much reason to believe that infidel, and even atheistic publications had been extensively circulated amongst them. A meeting of them was convened one first day afternoon, at a pit's mouth, near Bishop Auckland, a temporary awning having been erected for the purpose. A very large company assembled, (from 1500 to 2000,) and I trust it was a time in which the truth was permitted to triumph over all doubts and cavils. I afterwards held a similar meeting near Newcastle. Here my sister Rachel Fowler and Anna met us, and after some good service, (as I trust) especially in two meetings for young people, we pursued our course into Scotland. There we visited Hawick and Jedburgh, (where I held a good public meeting,) Melrose, &c., and so passed on to Edinburgh. Lively and pleasant, indeed, was our short sojourn in that place. It gave us the opportunity of enlarging the circle of our friends. More particularly was I pleased to form a friendship with Dr. Abercrombie, the author of those able works, so generally esteemed, on the Intellectual Powers, and Moral Feelings. No man, perhaps, has written more ably on the subject of the moral principle, universally communicated to mankind. He came to dine with us at our hotel, and I took the

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opportunity of explaining to him the views of Friends on this subject, namely, that the light which enables the conscience to perceive the great dictates of the divine law, even independently of an outward revelation, is a measure of the influence of the Spirit, graciously bestowed on all men through Jesus Christ our Lord. He made no objection to these views, and I have seldom found them otherwise than acceptable to evangelical Christians. Dr. Abercrombie is considered the first physician in Edinburgh. His works display a mind of a very lucid and acute character; a combination of sound philosophy and evangelical piety, which renders them invaluable. We enjoyed some true communion in spirit before we parted; and I trust that we shall always remember each other in love. Dr. Chalmers with his family we found at Burntisland, a sea bathing place on the north of the Forth. Very much was it to our mutual enjoyment to meet again. His conversation was luminous as usual, and he received my strong words of warning against high-churchism with great good feeling. In a parting opportunity we were brought into that unity of spirit which overflows all sectarian distinctions.

From Burntisland we proceeded to Wemyss Castle, a fine old baronial residence on the rocky coast of Fifeshire, where our friend Captain Wemyss treated us with characteristic hospitality; thence to Renny Hill, the comfortable little lairdship of the Johnstons, where two days passed with my niece Priscilla and her husband, were to our mutual comfort; and so across the country by Stirling to Glasgow. At a large public meeting there, I had to insist, in an especial manner, on the influence of the Holy Spirit, reviewing the subject after the manner of Friends. I afterwards found that Dr. Wardlaw, who had published a book on the Beacon side of the controversy, was present with a great number of his people. At his request we went to breakfast with him at his cottage on the banks of the Clyde, when I had a full opportunity of more explicitly informing him of our true views of spiritual influence, and of correcting his misapprehensions respecting us. He received the communication with great

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attention and respect, and I trust it served a good purpose. We parted in much love, after fervent prayer had been offered for him and his interesting family.*

After holding many meetings in Cumberland, especially in the coal and lead mining districts, where there appeared a great openness among the people towards Friends and their doctrines, I returned to Manchester. Great were the difficulty and conflict which awaited us there; nevertheless I believed it to be my duty to support Friends, in promoting a total change in the "overseers," and in discouraging the irregular meetings for worship, which the dissatisfied party had instituted. The difference of principle between that party and the society had become so obvious, that no other line of conduct could be pursued by me consistently with my own views. The crisis was now come; the Monthly Meeting appointed new overseers; and, within a very short time, our long-valued Friends, Isaac Crewdson, William Boulton, and many others—in all, about fifty—resigned their membership in the society.

Most sincerely do I love these Friends, and heartily do I desire their welfare; but we are separated, not merely by a diversity of practice, but by the difference of principle on which that diversity is grounded. We must, therefore, agree to differ—in the humble hope that, through a reverent, abiding trust in our Lord Jesus Christ, we may meet at last where differences will exist no longer, and where all misconceptions of one another's conduct will for ever cease.

Thus terminated the proceedings of the committee at Manchester. The Friends who then resigned their membership, at first established a separate meeting, which was, however, discontinued in the course of a few years, as its supporters found that there was little to distinguish them from some other communities of professing Christians.

* Joseph John Gurney afterwards addressed to Dr. Wardlaw several letters on these subjects; which he subsequently published. See Friendly Letters to Dr. Wardlaw, Norwich, 1836.

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Those who withdrew from Friends in other places about the same period, gradually became, in like manner, united to other Christian societies. No distinct body now survives to preserve a memorial of this secession. But though the loss of so many who might have been valuable members cannot but be greatly deplored, it may be thankfully acknowledged that, whilst not insensible of its weakness, the Society of Friends, in England, has been mercifully permitted to emerge from these difficulties, more than ever united in its attachment to the essential spirituality of the Christian religion, in its inseparable connexion with pure evangelical truth.

"In reviewing my conduct," adds Joseph John Gurney towards the conclusion of the foregoing account, "I am very ready to acknowledge that, under the difficulties of the case, I may have been betrayed into some minor errors in expression, &c.; but on calm and deliberate reflection, I am not aware that, in any respect of importance, I could have acted differently. In reference to these painful affairs, in all their various stages, I can say with the apostle, 'I trust I have a good conscience.'"

During Joseph John Gurney's absence on this journey, he received the sorrowful tidings of the decease, after a rather lingering illness, of his sister Louisa Hoare, the wife of the late Samuel Hoare, of Hampstead. With the warmth of brotherly affection, he thus traces her character in the Autobiography.

What a sister and friend has Louisa been to me; and how glowing is the picture of her that memory is often painting for me! Perhaps I should not be far wrong in estimating her as superior, in point of talent, to any other of my father's eleven children. She was a calm, deep thinker, and applied her well wrought out views and principles to action with a perseverance

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and exactness which were very uncommon. No small sense had she of the true bearing and value of the views of Friends; but her circumstances in married life strongly led in another direction. Education was her great forte. Her work on Nursery Discipline, or the Early Education of Children, is replete with wise thoughts, well expressed, and has met with a widely-extended circulation. A little book on the same subject, for the use of the poor, is also of much value, as is her interesting Memoir of a Workhouse Boy. She had a larger and yet more important work on hand, being a collection of contrasts between the effects of religion and irreligion, afforded by the lives and deaths of the godly and ungodly, the believing and unbelieving, the righteous and the wicked. I never could persuade her to prepare it for the press; but I still hope it may in time see the light. The decease of her eldest son inflicted a wound on her sensitive constitution from which she never recovered. Her sufferings were peculiarly affecting; but she struggled against them with a well-principled steadiness which afforded us much instruction; and her hold on the truth, and on its blessed promises, was never shaken.

The winter was spent by Joseph John Gurney mostly at home, in the enjoyment of the company of his children. During this recess from more active labours, a prospect of extensive service in a distant land gradually opened before him with increasing clearness. The following extracts will enable the reader to trace the course of his mind in relation to this important subject.

After a short visit to London, where he was detained a few days by a heavy fall of snow, at the house of his brother Samuel Gurney, he writes:—

1*st mo.*, 5*th*, 1837. The commencement of the new year was felt with a sort of melancholy solemnity; but the Lord afterwards seemed very graciously to lift up the light of his countenance upon me. My situation just now in the church is one of considerable

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humiliation; which I think I am content to bear, if so be the precious cause of eternal truth may not suffer through me. A calming influence is cheeringly spread over my own mind this morning, in the humble belief that the Lord will provide.

1st mo., 14th. I could hardly have believed it possible that four or five days should have witnessed so remarkable a change in my condition of mind, prospects, intentions, feelings, &c., as has been the case since my last entry. For several months past, I have been suffering from time to time under a state of conflict, and a weight of sorrow, for which I was wholly unable to account; though at no time, that I remember, have I quite lost either faith, hope, or patience; or quite slipped from my footing on the rock—Christ Jesus. It seems to have been permitted for my humiliation; for the breaking of me down—yea, for the grinding of me into dust—before the Lord; and a thick veil of darkness was spread over the future, which it was impossible to penetrate. I often seemed to myself as one cast out and trodden on, who could be of little farther use in the church of my Redeemer.

During the continuance of this condition, I may gratefully acknowledge that the anointing of God's Holy Spirit was from season to season bestowed in a measure for my refreshment; especially through the exercise of the ministry. But if the cloud broke away for a time, that time was but very short; and the hand of the Lord still appeared to be very heavy upon me. Seldom, if ever, have I suffered more in this way, than during last first day night; a time of tempest-tossing indeed! Notwithstanding some relief in the morning of second day, I went heavy laden and broken to call on ———. A few words of ministry, which were then addressed to me, seem to have been the appointed means of breaking the spell; and as I was afterwards riding to Thickthorn, my conflict fled away, and I was left in a calm, but decided possession of the most important religious prospect which has yet fallen to my lot. Delightful tranquillity was my portion during the remainder of the day and the whole of the next day.

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TO HIS BROTHER SAMUEL GURNEY.

Fakenham, 1st mo., 20th, 1837.

I believe that I ought not longer to delay informing thee of my present condition of mind in reference to religious service. Our dear sister Fry is more aware than you are of the remarkable measure of mental conflict under which I have suffered for several months past.

About ten days ago, this conflict was wonderfully removed in the view of quietly submitting, without much further delay, to a prospect which has been more or less floating before me for nearly twenty years, of no less a magnitude than that of *crossing the Atlantic, and visiting Friends and others in America.*

Ever since something like a surrender at discretion on this subject, I have, with few intermissions, felt much more at ease in mind, cheerful, and happy, and preserved from anxiety about the future; though at times, of course, a tide of fears and doubts sets in upon me; but it is my increasing apprehension, that the Lord is condescending to require the sacrifice of me.

Until within a short time, I permitted myself to believe that some future year would prove to be the right time. My present apprehension is, that there ought not to be any delay beyond the present year; and that, if nothing providential forbids, it may probably devolve upon me to mention the subject at our ensuing Monthly Meeting, that is, on fifth day, the 9th of next month.

Still my mind is by no means fully settled on that point; and I am, of course, open to your counsel. I know I shall have your fervent petitions on my account, and your tenderest sympathy.

I am quite tranquil, and feel a hope that if this matter is required, the Lord will not be wanting in giving me the *double evidence* which such a service seems to demand.

TO THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON.

MY DEAREST BUXTON, Earlham, 1st mo., 28th, 1837.

Thanks for thy verbal advice on the subject of America, and still more thanks for thy letter, which I am able to digest with quietness to-day, under a peculiar feeling of rest and

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relief. I very much accord with thee in thy view of the principles on which it must be settled. "Do the will of God, whatsoever sacrifice it may bring in its train, but take care not to involve yourself in the sacrifice until you are quite sure that it is his will."

To both of these positions I say, "Amen;" but I wish to be preserved from exaggerating either the sacrifice itself, or the kind. and measure of evidence it requires. On both these points I desire to be as simple as a child. First, with respect to the sacrifice, I feel and acknowledge it to be great, and by far the greatest I have ever been called upon to make in my Christian course. Yet I do not consider that absence in a distant land during two or even three years, involves the permanent surrender either of my home privileges or home duties. It is what most men would submit to without much hesitation in the pursuit of health. I have no idea that the personal difficulties or deprivation of outward comfort, which would attend the execution of such a purpose, would be to any great or overwhelming extent. With respect to my darling children, and all over whom I am here permitted to exercise some beneficial influence, my mind is stayed upon two grand considerations. First, that the influence of Christian love, and even of Christian authority when grounded in love, is by no means extinguished, but in some respects increased, by the absence of the party who exerts it; and it may by the very discipline which a temporary separation involves, be prepared for a yet more vigorous and decided exercise in future. And secondly, and more especially, that if my absence is ordered of the Lord, it is far safer for my children as well as for myself, that I should be absent than present; for there is no example which I could set before them with so little advantage as that of disobedience to the glorious Saviour to whose service I wish them to be devoted. In the meantime I feel a humble confidence that so long as I am conformed to his will, he who protects the fatherless, will graciously protect them and supply all their need, temporally and spiritually, unspeakably better than I could do by any planning of mine in a direction contrary to the divine counsels.

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These remarks bring me to my second head—the point of *evidence*. I am free to confess, that for evidence I expect only a quiet, deliberate, *settled* sense of duty, in connexion with my general call to the ministry; such a sense of duty as I cannot possibly bring upon myself; which lives through times of appalling cloudiness; and which ever and anon, at happier seasons, bursts forth with a brightness all its own, rises into authority by its native power, and brings me, in spite of all discouragements, into a happy and easy tranquillity, if I am but submissive to it.

Thou wilt perceive that my views and experience on this subject are connected with my general call to the work of the ministry. With regard to that general call itself, I suppose that Christians of every denomination who have entered on so sacred a function with the seriousness which it demands, would acknowledge a similar experience, and would cast themselves, in this awful affair between God and their souls, on the same description of evidence. Here, perhaps, many would leave it; and, for the location and peculiar direction of the work, would look for nothing more than that providential guidance which is marked by outward circumstances. But it has been for the last quarter of a century my settled belief that the same description of evidence may be looked for and ought to be followed with respect to what may be called the secondary parts of a call to this service. "Thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee, and whatsoever I command thee thou shalt speak." It is upon this principle that I have endeavoured to act ever since I was first so engaged; and, though I am very sensible of the infirmity of the earthen vessel, I may truly say that I have found my Lord and Master to be a most sure and sufficient guide; and that my security and success in the work have ever been found to depend on a simple, faithful following of the Lord's "anointing." This is a clue that I dare not forsake, or neglect or refuse to follow. I have the belief impressed upon me, that if I did so, it would be to the peril of my soul. And yet I humbly trust that the constraining principle which binds me to the service is love rather than fear.

I am far from confining this view of the immediate guidance of

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the Holy Spirit to the work of the ministry. I apply it generally to our whole course of duty, and even to temporal avocations, which are more or less connected with our own religious interests and those of others. I think thy own experience with respect to parliament and parliamentary duties has, in an eminent degree, tallied with this remark. But I nevertheless conceive that the application of this doctrine to the ministry of the Gospel is marked with pre-eminent clearness, and operates with peculiar force.

With regard to my prospect of parliamentary duty some years ago, to which thou hast alluded; certain it is that I was led to the *consideration* of it under feelings which appeared to me to be of a sacred character; but never was I brought to the point of *concluding* that the thing was right; and after some trial of patience, I was delivered from all bonds on the subject, without any human instrumentality, and without any aid from circumstances.*

With respect to America, after all that can be said on every hand, my only course is to go to my Lord and Master, in simple faith and fervent prayer, with the question—"Is it of myself, or is it of thee?" or, in other words, "Is it wrong or is it right?" the two questions being perfectly equivalent.

I will not say that I am yet in possession of that full and clear affirmative answer to this question, on which it is safe for me to act. And most heartily do I desire that, in weighing the subject, I may be preserved from presumption. But honesty compels me to acknowledge that the conviction that this is actually the path which he sees fit to point out to me is not decreasing. In the meantime I am mercifully favoured with some quietness, and, I hope, sobriety of mind. My humble hope and belief is, that if this thing be not required of me, he will either providentially or spiritually, cast a bond upon me which will detain me here; and that if it be required, *you* will all be able, in due season, to adopt the language, "Loose him, and let him go."

* See *supra*, Vol. i. p. 469.

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TO HIS SISTER ELIZABETH FRY.

Norwich, 1st mo., 31st, 1837.

I am glad to report comfortably of myself to-day, as I am far better in body; and in mind tranquil and at ease, in unreserved submission to the prospect already mentioned to thee. I feel increasingly bound to it, and cannot believe that the voice which leads me into it, and which during the last few days has been very distinct, is the voice of a stranger, or any other than that of the true Shepherd. With regard to time, though I felt pretty well satisfied with the view taken by thee of it, when we were together, it is now evident to me, that the peculiarly close conflict which has been allotted me for many months, was, (though unknown to myself,) preparing me for an earlier surrender to the service. My natural judgment also coincides with this, for when such a burthen is decidedly laid upon the mind, there is nothing like throwing it off without unnecessary delay. Otherwise one is crippled and spoiled for everything else. So also with respect to the Monthly Meeting, I believe it best to give Friends their *full time*, though an early beginning of it may be the consequence. I have endeavoured just to tread on the "stepping stones" as they have appeared, and in this way have now mentioned the subject to all my brothers and sisters, and to all my partners in the Norwich bank. The result is, less difficulty and obstruction than might have been anticipated. But I have had my low seasons, and may have them again before I go further.

From his Journal:—

1st mo., 24th. We had an excellent meeting last fifth day morning; William Forster's ministry most delightful; on being brought *through* the fire. Dearest Catherine, Rachel, my aunt, and my own children, have now been informed of my condition of mind, and I have written to my brother Samuel, &c. Under the trial necessarily occasioned by this development, I feel wonderfully tranquil and quiet; and, in some degree of the breaking down of my own will before the Lord, only desire to be favoured, on a calm and deliberate view of the case, with sufficiently clear evidence

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as to the real path of duty. I feel, in the meantime, happily able to attend to the calls, and even to the pleasures of the day.

According to the Christian order which has been long established in the Society of Friends, it was necessary, before Joseph John Gurney could go forth in the extensive service now before him, that he should obtain not only the concurrence of the Friends of his own neighbourhood and county, testified by the "certificates" of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, of which he was a member; but also that of the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, consisting of representatives and others from the various meetings of Friends in those stations in Great Britain and Ireland. On the morning of the day on which he was about to lay the subject before the Friends of his own Monthly Meeting, he received the unlooked for intelligence of the death of his sister-in-law Lady Harriet Gurney.

He afterwards writes:—

2nd mo., 14th. Third day. Oh! the importance, and in some respects, awfulness of the past week! During the former part, my mind continued tranquil, but fixed without change on the prospect before me. At my request, our visitors left us on fourth day morning, that I might have that day quietly to myself at home, in order afresh to ponder all my ways. Our little home circle was calm, and, on the whole, happy; the night easy to me. But, alas! while I was dressing on fifth day morning, a special messenger from Runcton was ushered into my chamber, with the appalling intelligence that our dearest sister Harriet had been prematurely confined, and was dead. I was favoured with much quietness of spirit on receiving these heavy tidings; broke them to dear Catherine, and rode to Norwich to inform C. Wodehouse, who, with Lady Jane, and Catherine, were requested to come to Runcton at once; then returned to Earlham to see Catherine before her departure; and afterwards went to our solemn, most important meeting. The meeting for worship was refreshing,

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and yet deeply searching. Frances Page spoke excellently on the case of Elijah at Mount Horeb; and I was led to vindicate the certainty of the divine guidance by the voice of the Spirit; obedience to it being the only safe path either for time or eternity. The women were requested to keep their seats for the Monthly Meeting; and, after a solemn pause, I fully unfolded my weighty concern for America, not feeling that the duty of so doing was in the least degree affected by the trial of the morning. The subject was well considered, under deep solemnity, and very full unity and sympathy were expressed by large numbers, so that a certificate was ordered. Dear Frances Page thought that a ram might possibly still be caught in the thicket; if so, how entirely willing shall I be to accept it; but if not, may I have grace to go simply forward! Early the next morning I went off with Anna to Runcton. There I passed sixth, seventh, and first days; a time of deep mourning indeed, especially sixth day. Afterwards we were more tranquil. My dear brother is wonderfully calm and supported, though broken and sorely tried. I read with the household and others twice on first day; and we were, I trust, favoured with the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit, accompanied by a sweet apprehension of her perfect happiness.

3rd mo., 10th. Yesterday our Monthly Meeting was largely attended. We had a solemn meeting for worship, in which it was given to me to speak of the quietness of those in whom Christ governs; its foundation and characteristics. Afterwards my certificate was read and signed, under feelings of great solemnity. It was to me inexpressibly affecting.

4th mo., 4th. The Quarterly Meeting, on fifth day last, was well attended, and a very solemn season. In the consideration of my certificate much unity was expressed, and, I believe, felt generally; and the certificate of the Monthly Meeting was finally completed by an excellent endorsement.

4th mo., 10th. Peace of mind—the result of an arrangement with my partners, respecting my profits from business. I give up one-third of my own share of profits to those who stay at home and do the work. My partners have been very kind and

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considerate, and the arrangement is made from my own sense of propriety and duty. I have looked closely at the question of renouncing a considerable proportion of my income, which, had I continued at home, might have been expended for the good of others; but it is done in apprehended obedience to a higher call; and with, at least, a sincere desire to promote the kingdom and glory of my Redeemer. As America opens before me, and the way to that vast field of service seems gradually clearing, my soul is bowed in reverent prostration before the Lord, with the earnest desire that he may be pleased to preserve me and my darling children, whom I am to leave behind, from falling into any of the snares of the enemy; and that we may meet again in peace, if it may be, on this earth; but, above all, and far beyond every other consideration, before his mercy-seat, in glory: there to unite, with many tenderly beloved ones, in endless songs of thanksgiving and praise to the Lord God, and to the Lamb.

Previously to the Yearly Meeting in London, he this year also attended the Yearly Meeting of Friends in Ireland.

6th mo., *11th.* Returned home last evening, with my sister Rachel [Fowler] and Anna, from Upton, after nearly seven weeks' absence; a period of deep interest and importance, in the retrospect of which I can feel my own weakness and unworthiness, and praise the Lord for his great and unmerited goodness.

The first point of our journey was Birmingham; where I examined the school, attended the Quarterly Meeting, and held a young people's meeting. Thence, with our cousin B. Dickenson, to Coalbrookdale, where we paid a precious farewell visit; reached Holyhead on sixth day night, and arrived at Dublin early the next morning. The Yearly Meeting there was a good one. I trust I was enabled to preach the glorious Gospel with power. Friends abounded in kindness towards me and my dear children.

On second day morning, in our third week, my children and I set off for Limerick, on our way to Killarney; which latter place we reached, after some little difficulties, the following evening. The weather was delightful; and the evening of our arrival, and

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the following day, were pleasantly spent in surveying the magnificent beauty of the scenery. Thence to Cork, where we were kindly entertained by A. Beale, and sailed the next morning for Bristol; which place, after a voyage of twenty-eight hours, we reached in safety on seventh day, and found a peaceful home at Sarah Allen's. A very exercising Sabbath followed, in which I had to plead earnestly for the principles of the Society; and a public meeting was held in the evening.

Our fifth week commenced with a first day morning at Stoke Newington, which was very satisfactory. The two following days were occupied by the Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders. On third day morning I brought forward my American prospect; it was most carefully sifted, and deliberated on, and ended with a clear decision for my liberation. The principal question raised had respect to time. That the concern itself was of the Lord, and that the present is the right time, may be said to have been the conclusion of the meeting; though perhaps some on both sides might fairly be considered to be in opposition to the prospect. I have not regretted the shape which the matter thus assumed, and though the ordeal was exercising I was well satisfied with the meeting. At the adjournment, the certificate, drawn up to my entire satisfaction, was passed and signed without alteration.*

* The following copy of the document furnished to Joseph John Gurney on this occasion will not be without its interest to the general reader :—

TO FRIENDS IN NORTH AMERICA.

DEAR FRIENDS,

Our beloved friend, Joseph John Gurney, a minister in unity, and well approved amongst us, has, with much weight, informed us of an apprehension of religious duty, which, for some years, at times, has impressed his mind, to pay a visit in the love of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to Friends in North America; he also informed us that he had a prospect of holding meetings with the people at large, in some places, in the course of his travels, and that he has an apprehension that he may find it laid upon him, to visit one or more of the West India Islands, on his return home. He has produced a certificate from his Monthly Meeting, endorsed by his Quarterly Meeting, expressive of their unity with him in his concern, and we think it right to add our testimony to theirs, that his life and conversation are consistent with his Christian profession.

This important and extensive concern has obtained our very serious and patient deliberation; after the expression of much unity and sympathy, this meeting

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FROM WILLIAM ALLEN.

6th of the 7th mo., 1837.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

The love and sympathy I feel for and with thee, would have brought me to Liverpool instead of this letter, if circumstances had not been too adverse to the undertaking. May the sacrifice of all, which I believe thou hast made, be accepted by our divine Master; and may he condescend to hear and to answer the ardent prayers which thy fellow-servants are pouring out before him for thy preservation, and for a blessing upon thy labours in his cause! May he preserve thee humble, and ever depending upon himself, in all thy movements and undertakings! and then, whatever may be the permission of his providence, in life or in death, thou wilt be sweetly and eternally his own, and he will give thee to feel that it is so. Remember those precious words, "I know my sheep, and am known of mine." I wished to have said something to thee about encouraging the prosecution of our agricultural plans for the benefit of the people of colour, but this may become the subject of future correspondence. My feelings are too solemn, at present, to admit of more than farewell in the Lord, my beloved brother, and may he be with thee in every extremity. So prays thy affectionate WILLIAM ALLEN.

concurs with his prospect and liberates him for the service before him. In granting him our certificate we commend our dear friend to the tender care of our Almighty Father in heaven. We feel a very strong desire that he may be kept in a state of humble, reverent watchfulness before the Lord, relying day by day, with holy faith and childlike simplicity, on the all-sufficiency of his grace; then should the enemy be permitted sorely to buffet him, we trust that neither in heights nor depths will anything be permitted to harm him; but that wherever he may be led in the service of his Lord, he may both in public and in private, out of a good conversation, show forth his works with the meekness of wisdom. Desiring that it may please the great Head of the church to prosper his labours among you, and at their conclusion grant him a safe and peaceful return to his family and friends, and that he may obtain your kind and tender sympathy,

With the salutation of Christian love,

We are your friends.

Signed by desire and on behalf of the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders, held in London by adjournments the 22nd and 23rd of the 5th and the 3rd of the 6th month, 1837. } WILLIAM ALLEN, Clerk.

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Before leaving England, Joseph John Gurney printed a few Essays in poetry, under the title of Sabbatical Verses. Composed during a period of much affliction, they had helped to sooth some of his solitary hours of sorrow; and deserve the attention of the reader, both from their intrinsic merit, and from the interest attaching to the circumstances under which they were written and first presented to the Christian public, "as a farewell token of affectionate respect and regard."*

6th mo., 20th. I have to record with humble gratitude, that though it has been through considerable conflict, we are much advanced towards a quiet and satisfactory settlement of the various points connected with the Earlham arrangements in my absence. I have not been very well or strong, and sometimes a little oppressed in spirits; but, through all, I have been mercifully favoured with great calmness; and no doubts or misgivings respecting the main object before me have been permitted to intercept my path, even with the alternative before me, that it may be either for life or for death. My brother Samuel has been most acceptably with us for a few days; and William Forster, my most effective friend and helper in the needful hour.

7th mo., 14th. I leave home to-day in much quietness and peace. We had a very interesting leave-taking with my Norwich friends and associates on first day evening. I have been favoured to clear away all matters of business, and to leave things in such order, that if my life should drop, no one would be put to any difficulty about my affairs. Quietness and peace are permitted to reign over my mind. We had a solemn time with the servants this morning after reading. May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be abundantly with us all!

* They will be found in Joseph John Gurney's Minor Works; vol. ii. pp. 251—294.

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CHAPTER XXX.

1837. ÆT. 49—50.

VOYAGE TO AMERICA; WRITES HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY; ARRIVAL AT PHILADELPHIA; JOURNEY TO OHIO, INDIANA, AND NORTH CAROLINA; ATTENDANCE OF YEARLY MEETINGS; EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS AND JOURNAL.

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY embarked from Liverpool in the Philadelphia packet, Monongahela, Captain Mierkin, on the 8th of the 7th mo., 1837. Owing to a succession of head winds and occasional calms, the voyage occupied seven weeks.

7th mo., 8th. On board the Monongahela, seventh day night. My circumstances are so new, so strange to my natural feelings, that it is no wonder that I can as yet hardly understand myself. But I *can* understand, that the Lord has condescended, in an astonishing manner, to hear the broken and feeble petitions of one of the very weakest of his children; so that, through infinite mercy, even I am not a castaway, but graciously protected by the wing of his love, and sent forth, under a measure of his own anointing, for his own service. Our parting from the little circle at Earlham last third day, our journey to Liverpool, our short sojourn there at the pleasant abode of our dear hospitable friends, I. and T. Hadwen, the precious meetings which we have enjoyed in that dearly beloved family party, have all bespoken the lovingkindness and tender mercy of the Lord; and, not least, our parting religious opportunity on board the vessel, when my dear sister Fry once more raised her voice in solemn supplication. What

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am I, that the Lord should permit so many of his servants to be my helpers, and to utter blessed words for my encouragement—words full of hope and confidence, and flowing with a Saviour's love? Bow, O my soul, in reverent gratitude before the God of thy life, who has so richly provided for thy needs, cleared away every obstruction, and is now making a path for his servant through the mighty deep. The feeling of being on the bosom of the ocean for so long a voyage, is touching and sublime; and might lay painful hold on my nervous nature, were it not for some happy sense of the sustaining and protecting arm of omnipotent love. William Forster's last words in ministry to me, were for the purpose of reminding me of our blessed Saviour's declaration, "Behold I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Here is my security, here is my comfort, here let me take my rest on the bosom of the mighty deep.

7th mo., 10*th*. We have enjoyed a noble day's sail; a fine view of the Tuskar Lighthouse, on the coast of Wexford, about seven o'clock this morning; and soon afterwards we were clear of the Narrows of St. George's Channel. We have been since bearing to the south of west, in order to be clear of the Irish coast, and of Cape Clear, at its south-western extremity, without being liable to the necessity of tacking. The entrance on the vast Atlantic was peculiarly sublime, from the various considerations with which it is connected, in addition to the great beauty and glory of the ocean scene, ruffled by a gentle breeze, and sparkling, under the sunshine, with innumerable living diamonds. I have seldom experienced a more thrilling and pleasurable sensation than on this occasion. During the day, some little squeamishness, from the increased motion of the ship, has been my lot; but I have read a good deal, and have felt in comfortable spirits, favoured with some ability to trust in the Lord, and to commune with him.

The intervals of leisure afforded by the voyage were employed by Joseph John Gurney in several minor literary undertakings. Besides the Tribute to the Memory of

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Jonathan Hutchinson, subsequently published, it was now that he wrote, at the request of one of his nephews, the little volume of Autobiography, of which so many extracts have been laid before the reader. Meanwhile his fellow-passengers were not forgotten.

7th mo., 16*th*. The wind is clean contrary, which is somewhat of a trial to my easily discouraged mind; but I am thankful to have a little faith given me according to my need. We have enjoyed two very solemn meetings, in the cabin and on the deck, attended by about fifty, the captain, passengers, sailors, &c. I trust the glorious gospel was not preached in vain; the sailors, especially, appearing very thoughtful and attentive.

Seventh day. This day completes our fortnight at sea, and although our progress through the waters has not been very great, yet, on the review of this time of novel experience, I feel that I have much for which to be very thankful. We have been preserved in safety, and, although conflict of mind has at times been my portion, I may commemorate frequent occasions of peculiar favour and peace. We have had adverse winds; dead calm; fair wind for a season, and now somewhat the contrary again. How uncontrollable is this moving power by any human being; how consoling the remembrance, that our Heavenly Father holdeth "the winds in his fist." We are in lat. about 47 deg., in long. 23 deg. Nothing could well be more solemn to my feelings, than the calm which prevailed on fifth day, late in the evening; scarcely a breath of air playing with the sails, the ship motionless, in the midst of a mighty ocean. My condition was one of much lowness, for the enemy had been beating against me within, with many a stormy, restless wave; so that the suggestion arose, am I a Jonah, to stay the vessel on its course? This temptation, however, left me, after a very interesting meeting in the large, dark hold of the vessel, with the steerage passengers before they retired to rest; many of them, indeed, being in their beds. The voice of prayer and praise arose vocally, I humbly trust with acceptance through the Saviour.

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7th mo., 27th. I had much satisfaction last evening, in lecturing a third time, to most of our party, on the Evidence for religion derived from Science.

Sixth day morning, lat. 47 *deg., long.* 45. We have been in the midst of a great fog since yesterday morning; and the bell at the head of the vessel was ringing ever and anon during the night, to warn any wandering vessel of our near approach. This sort of weather is very common in the neighbourhood of the banks of Newfoundland, and seems rather trying to the captain and most on board. It is calculated to make us especially feel the value of the guiding eye as well as the protecting arm of our God. The solemn sound of the bell during the night kept me awake for many hours. I felt both the singularity and the seriousness of my position, but I trust I was not mistaken in the belief, that the Master whose I am, and whom I desire to serve, quieted me with the gentle voice of his Spirit; giving me to believe, that as I had borne testimony to him, in the cities of my native land, so I shall have to do the same at Philadelphia. May I be bold, discreet, and faithful therein, seeking to be wise as the serpent, and harmless as the dove; above all, seeking after the steadfastness and integrity which are in Christ.

8th mo., 10th. We have gone through some tedious navigation lately, having been compelled to make two long south-eastern tacks, in order to get clear of Newfoundland, and the fatal Virgin rocks. Notwithstanding these efforts, rather an awful degree of anxiety prevailed last night, lest our course, after all, might not be clear of them. However, a nearly fair wind carried us swiftly forward; we found ourselves past the danger this morning, and are now about 1000 miles from Cape Henlopen. Thus have we renewed cause for thankfulness to the Author of our being, and I retire to rest with a quiet and hopeful mind.

Next morning. What rapid changes are we exposed to on this restless ocean! Soon after I made the above entry, the weather became stormy, the wind roaring, the night excessively dark, the lightning flashing, sails furled, the vessel drifting, the captain and his men all night in action and vociferation. My own mind

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was mercifully preserved in considerable quietness. This morning we have nothing left to alarm; though our portion is a head wind, with rain and fog. But O the goodness of the Lord, in permitting a gale as from Araby the blessed for the cheering of our spirits! Solemn and sweet has been the meeting which we have just been holding in the cabin.

8th mo., 12th. We have now been five weeks on board this vessel. I had too readily given way to an impression, that this day would see us in port. May I be instructed by the disappointed hope! As it is, I prefer having a few more days at sea, that I may finish a little essay at Autobiography.

Evening. The day has been favourable, and ends in peace. I have been enabled to take a calm view of home, and of the members of our family circle, with a degree of quietness and comfort.

8th mo., 22nd. At the Capes, and in harbour within Delaware breakwater. To Philadelphia we cannot go at present, the wind being adverse and strong; and no steam-boat having come to our help. The entrance through the Capes this morning was very sublime; and in being in harbour in America, I have felt true quietness and peace, with much solemnity of feeling.

8th mo., 25th. We reached Philadelphia last night, at nine o'clock, after an interesting voyage up the bay and river of the Delaware. The first introduction to America has been fraught with lively interest; and my arrival at my peaceful abode, at John and Hannah Paul's, was marked by much comfort and tranquillity:—my dear friend, Stephen Grellet, being here to receive me.

8th mo., 27th, first day afternoon. It is more interesting to me than I know how to set forth, to be at length engaged in the work in this land. My way has been rather remarkably made so far; and a general meeting for Friends is appointed for this evening at Arch-street Meeting-house. The meeting of the Northern district, attended this morning, was large, and favoured with much solemnity. I trust some hearts were touched. After meeting "a brook by the way" was most graciously bestowed at

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Samuel and Jane Bettle's. O the privilege of living gospel fellowship with the Lord's children! I cannot express how thankful I am to find that after all my conflicts and temptations, it is yet mine. Lord what can I render?

After three days spent in Philadelphia, Joseph John Gurney's course was directed to Ohio and Indiana, where he was desirous of attending the ensuing Yearly Meetings of Friends in those parts.

TO HIS CHILDREN.

On board the canal boat, on the Pennsylvania Canal
between Philadelphia and Pittsburg, 8th mo., 29th, 1837.

MY DEAREST JOHN HENRY AND ANNA—My last letter would bring you up to my first sabbath at Philadelphia. It was a very good day, and, I hope, worth the preparatory discipline attending our long voyage. Strange was it to me, to begin my service in this land, and I cannot imagine any place more interesting for such service, than Philadelphia; the society large, and so many interesting things and persons amongst them. I attended one large meeting in the morning; a second in the afternoon; and in the evening a *general* assemblage of the Friends met me at Arch street Meeting-house, about two thousand present; I believe the largest assembly of Friends that has been known there since the Hicksite separation. It was a noble sight, and proved a satisfactory meeting. It was particularly laid upon me to defend the character of the early Friends, with some reference to the original formation of the society here: "The memory of the just is blessed," it will not decay; but, in connexion with this subject, ample was the scope afforded for the plain declaration of the great truths of the gospel. Thus the day ended well; the ice was fairly broken at Philadelphia; and at five o'clock yesterday morning, (second day,) I set off with an easy mind, with my kind friend John Paul for my companion, towards the next object, Ohio Yearly Meeting. The route lies through Pittsburg, which is about three hundred miles

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from Philadelphia. We travelled about one hundred miles to Harrisburg, (the seat of the Pennsylvanian government,) by railroad, comfortably enough, passing through a well wooded, fairly cultivated country, adorned with neat looking villages, farm-houses, and barns; not unlike the scenery of England, but on a larger scale; palings too, instead of hedges; the grain harvest quite finished, but the Indian corn still growing, in large quantities, and of a great height. Its appearance is beautiful. At Harrisburg we got into the canal boat, which, last evening, was much crowded, and at night we were bundled together, strangely enough to an Englishman. However, every one found some kind of berth to lie in. The canal passes through a delightful country, alongside part of the Susquehannah, then of the Juniatta. Both these rivers are highly picturesque; lofty and well wooded hills rising from them, and the trees on the banks, rich and varied. The scenery is amongst the finest I have anywhere seen; but peculiar, not very like anything in England. As to natural history, I have observed the bald eagle quietly seated on a tall tree; the osprey floating over the river; abundance of small black and white woodpeckers with red heads; the "yellow bird," a tiny, active creature, of bright yellow and black; the large green bull frog, (good to eat,) and the water snake, of a muddy green; also a variety of beautiful wild plants; splendid specimens of lobelia, blue and crimson, œnothera, convolvolus, calceolaria, wild sunflower, &c.

We have a fine company of Americans crowded together, and eating heartily at a long table, three times a day. The four judges of the supreme court of Pennsylvania are of the number; but appear to claim little supereminence. All are equal here, with the single exception of the *coloured*. The chief justice Gibson tells me that small crimes decrease, but that heavy ones fearfully increase; which *he* ascribes to the determination prevailing amongst Americans, to do *what they please;* in short, to ultra-radicalism. Yet I am not unfavourably impressed by what I have seen of their temper, demeanour, manners, &c.; *quite the contrary*. Every body seems good tempered, as if the degree of

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roughness which they undergo had rubbed off their corners. The American aspect is very much marked; persons slim and active; countenances thin, eager, and intelligent; with a peculiar air of independence. This independence, this practical oblivion of all distinction of class, is less offensive than I should have expected; as there is no want of polish in those whom *we* should consider as constituting the upper class. These four judges are decidedly agreeable, especially chief justice Gibson, and judge Dallas; cultivated and intellectual men. They tell me that the English common law is maintained here, with the exception of a few changes introduced by American statute. These judges belong to the supreme court of Pennsylvania, in which law and equity are united; and which exercises an appellate jurisdiction over the local and inferior courts. Gibson seems to me, in point of information and mental force, very much on a level with our judge Alderson, of whom he has reminded me; but is paid only about £600 per annum, instead of £5000, as in England. It is, in my opinion, far below the mark.

Yesterday we passed over the Alleghany range of mountains, by a wondrous railroad, consisting of a series of levels and inclined planes, rising in all about 1400 feet from the first level. Along the levels we were drawn by horses; up the inclined planes by ropes and pullies, and steam power; and are let down by similar ropes in the descent. It is a vast triumph of human art and enterprize. At Johnstown, on the western side of the Alleghanies, we again took the canal, and are now upon it, on our way to Pittsburg, which we hope to reach this afternoon. The canal, on both sides of the Alleghany mountains, goes alongside of picturesque and beautiful rivers; in the ascent, our companions (as before mentioned) were the Susquehannah and Juniatta; and now, in the descent, first the Conemaugh, now the Kiscamenitis, and we expect soon to reach the Alleghany. Sometimes we get on to the rivers themselves in our course; and, when this is the case, we are treated with magnificent scenery. Oh! could you have seen the interior of our boat last night; judges, merchants, mechanics, gospel ministers, crowded together on the floor, the

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seats, &c.; very little air allowed. There was to me some suffering in it, and I was on the verge of real illness; but my mind was calm and quiet. This morning we are comparatively comfortable, though the more than four thousand miles, which now divide us, sometimes hang heavy on my heart. Ups and downs in feeling I must expect; but, on the whole, *substantial* happiness is my portion, and, I humbly trust, yours also. We hope to be able to take the Ohio river at Pittsburg, and to pass by steam-boat to Wheeling, or Steubenville; we shall then be within a drive of two hours of Mount Pleasant, where the Yearly Meeting is to commence next seventh day. I have long looked forward to this service; and trust I may, through adorable mercy, be favoured with ability to accomplish it. May I be clothed with the armour of righteousness on the *right* hand and on the *left!*

At Mount Pleasant, he writes in his Journal:—

First day evening, 9th mo., 3rd. After a voyage of uncommon interest, as to the grandeur of the scenery, but rendered trying by a variety of accidents and detentions, we arrived at Wheeling by a row-boat, (in the dark the last four miles,) about eleven o'clock on sixth day night; and, by a romantic road through the forest, came to this place while the meeting of ministers and elders was sitting. We entered while our beloved friend Stephen Grellet was engaged in prayer. I felt much sweet peace in the arrival, and met a warm reception from Friends. The meeting this morning was, to the view of an Englishman, very large; a very mixed company; the scene highly novel and interesting; carriages of various kinds, and numerous horses, thronging, first to, and afterwards round the meeting-house. It was an exercising and very solemn time.

A public meeting in the large house is appointed for the evening. The Lord has wonderfully condescended to me in the work, for which I trust I can bow in reverent thankfulness. May he pour forth his Spirit on the present occasion!

Second day morning. I am thankful to say that this desire was

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remarkably fulfilled. We had a blessed meeting last evening, in which baptism into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, was, I trust, unfolded. It is pleasant to be in good unity with Friends; but peculiarly needful to dwell deep.

Smithfield, Ohio, 9th mo., 9th. Yesterday, Friends gave me their return certificate, couched in full terms of approbation and unity; the current of feeling and expression was as full as on any occasion I ever witnessed. Very interesting conference in company with my beloved Stephen Grellet, who has been throughout a kind friend and father to me.

This morning we had a good concluding sitting; men and women being together; a weighty and dignified close. Surely the Lord, in his infinite compassion, has been eminently with us! In coming forward to this sweet spot this evening, I have much peace, being comfortably housed in my "prophet's chamber," at Benjamin W. Ladd's, the window overlooking a lovely scene.

TO HIS SISTER ELIZABETH FRY.

Zanesville, Ohio, 9th mo., 24th, 1837.

It certainly has been very relieving and sweet to me to find myself in full unity with Friends in this part, whose returning certificate was all that I could desire. Since the Yearly Meeting I have held numerous meetings in country places, which have been large and exercising, many "Hicksites" attending; and much service towards them. Considerable impression appears to have been made in some instances. John Paul was my agreeable companion, until after the Yearly Meeting in Ohio. Since then, Benjamin W. Ladd has taken me under his care, and is now driving me to Indiana.

I am greatly interested in the country. It is one of large scope every way. It is highly satisfactory to observe how the population is overtaken by the means of religious instruction and worship—greatly the better, as I believe, for the absence of the *incumbency* of an establishment. This town of seven thousand inhabitants is a specimen—seven or eight commodious places of

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worship in it, and, I hope, a considerable prevalence of serious religion. At the same time, I am too young in the country to form an accurate estimate at present. * * *

In another letter he remarks:—

The country over which I travelled in Ohio, (chiefly in Jefferson county,) is very much of one character—a beautiful wooded wilderness of hill and dale, gradually coming under more and more cultivation—about half of it now cleared from wood, and very productive. Plentifulness and ease, on the sole condition of industry, appeared to be the universal order of things. At a cottage one morning, after a neighbouring meeting had been concluded, such a cottage as an English peasant might not unsuitably occupy, we were hospitably received by a small farmer and mechanic. There was no strong drink on his table, but the abundance and variety of the articles produced at dinner, all served up in the most simple manner, really astonished me. No servants, of course, in any such house. All people do all things for themselves. I heartily wished, as I went along, that I might myself become imbued with some measure of this hardy independence. * * *

It is greatly to be regretted that the black and coloured people of this state are far from being on equal terms, in point of civil right, with the white population; and, by a late law, their condition, in this respect, has become even worse than before. Repeated appeals to the legislature have been made in their favour, by the Society of Friends. In the meantime, they have more appearance of respectability, and even ease here, than in some others of the free states of the union. I remember meeting three negroes one day on horseback. One of them was a farming man who had realized a little property; another a minister of the gospel, on his way to his congregation; the third, a female respectably attired, the wife of one of them. How happy will be the day when such scenes shall become general on the other side of the river, in the states of Virginia and Kentucky.

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To return to his Journal:—

Jackstown, 22 miles west of Zanesville. We are stopping here for the noon meal, dinner for ourselves and horses. The meeting last evening at Zanesville was much favoured; evangelical and spiritual Christianity was, I humbly trust, set forth with some clearness, under the renewed gracious influence of our Holy Head: the assembly was large, and the quietness and attention great. Notwithstanding this favour, I was brought very low this morning, by the recollection of this time two years, when my dearest wife was in the depth of her fatal fever; and a stranger in a strange land must not expect to be in high spirits. However, I am, I believe, content. I wish to be nowhere else, and a little enlivening hope dwells with me, that this pilgrimage is on my way to a better country. May it be so, through the tender mercies of my God, in Christ Jesus!

Richmond, Indiana, 10th mo., 2nd. The Yearly Meeting, in its larger assembly, meets this morning. A week has passed since I made the last entry, and I am still well and in peace. The journey hither from Zanesville very interesting in parts; the great Western road, almost crowded with movers in that direction. Immigration seems the order of the day. The country, wooded and flat, interspersed with natural prairies. At Columbus, the seat of government for Ohio, we held meetings with 370 prisoners at the state prison, and at the Lunatic Asylum, on the building of which 100 of them were at work. The silent discipline at the prison appeared carried to its highest pitch. I doubt its effects, though in some respects it is very good; the employments capitally arranged. Public meetings on the road at Jefferson and Springfield, at which last place we were kindly entertained by Jeremiah Warder and family. We arrived here at the peaceful abode of Elijah Coffin, on sixth day. On seventh day, the meeting of ministers and elders was large. The committee on Indian affairs, in the afternoon, very interesting. Yesterday, after deep and searching exercise of mind in private, was a day highly favoured of the Lord. We had a vast assembly in the

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morning, and a public meeting, by my appointment, in the evening. I humbly trust a good impression was made. It is a comfort, indeed, to be again with my beloved friend S. Grellet.

From one of his letters :—

Never, to the best of my knowledge, have I witnessed so remarkable an assemblage of people, as that which was convened for public worship at Richmond, on the commencement of the Yearly Meeting for Indiana: Friends and others, arriving on horseback, or in the grotesque carriages of the country. The horses, "hitched" to nearly every tree of the wood which surrounded the large red brick meeting-house, formed in themselves a curious spectacle. It was supposed that about 3000 people were accommodated within the walls; and nearly as many, unable to obtain a place in the house, were walking about on the premises. It is the constant custom of the people in the surrounding country, to attend the "Quakers' Meeting" on this particular occasion. * * * The Friends who had assembled, had many of them come from great distances; some from the state of Ohio, others from the extreme West of Indiana, others, again, from Illinois. The whole population of Friends within the limits of this Yearly Meeting, is about 30,000.

In his Journal he writes :—

10*th mo., 5th.* I am thankful in feeling quiet and calm this morning. O how graciously condescending is my dear Lord and Master to my great natural weakness! I cannot be grateful enough to Him; and may I patiently wait and quietly hope for the clearing away of clouds and difficulties, in the hour of his own appointment! In the meantime, watchfulness, faithfulness, meekness, may they be mine! And may the Lord in his tender mercy grant, that whatever provocation to nature may fall to my lot, I may be so preserved in the meekness of wisdom, yea, in the very truth, and in the life and innocency thereof, as not to offend one of the little ones. I preach to others rather loudly of the

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necessity of getting rid of the idolatry of self, may I do it myself! Lord, help me in this work, I reverently beseech thee.

10*th mo.*, 7*th*. All difficulties and clouds cleared away, and the Yearly Meeting ended with a time of unusual favour; solemn, fervent prayer fell to my lot at the close. Friends have given me a good minute of acknowledgment. Thus I have abundant cause to set up my Ebenezer, to praise the Lord for his goodness, and to trust in him for the future.

Many days, after the conclusion of the Yearly Meeting, were occupied by Joseph John Gurney in visiting the settlements of Friends within a hundred miles of Richmond, Indiana. He subsequently writes :—

In the course of this excursion I saw much of the wild forest, and passed over roads which might truly be called dangerously bad. The mud holes, in some parts, were indeed tremendous. But, in extremely sequestered spots, I was occasionally refreshed by meeting with instances of simple but genuine piety; and although the cultivation of the land was by no means in so forward a state as in many parts of Ohio, I still found myself hospitably entertained with a sufficiency of good food, and very tolerable lodging. I remember being led one night by torch-light, through what appeared to me an almost impervious forest, until I arrived in safety at the humble abode of one of the settlers, where I found all my needs abundantly supplied.

From Indiana, Joseph John Gurney proceeded to North Carolina; an arduous journey of six hundred miles across a region in parts but little settled or cultivated. It appeared, at first, difficult to obtain a conveyance suitable for such a journey. "It so happened, however," he writes in one of his letters, "that a worthy member of the society was employed to drive me to a neighbouring meeting, with a pair of horses which he used in his business, and in a carriage borrowed from one of his neighbours. The animals

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were diverse in colour, but admirably matched in pace and quality; doubtless it was because of their suitability to each other that they bore the names of David and Jonathan. I soon perceived that this was the man, and these the horses, which were to convey me from Indiana to Carolina; and had afterwards much reason to acknowledge that this was one of the many instances of a kind providence, by which my course in America was wonderfully facilitated. My friend and his horses suited me exactly, and continued to be my helpers through a much greater extent of country than I then contemplated. I bought a humble, but convenient waggon, on wooden springs; an active young man accompanied us on horseback as our guide; and, our party being joined by three other Friends bound in the same direction, we set off on our journey in good health and spirits, at the rate of about four miles an hour, a rate which, though a slow one, was often exchanged for one still slower."

Gallipolis, on the Ohio, 10th mo., 20th. My mind has undergone a good deal of conflict, but is much at peace after the meeting this evening; the close of my labours at present on the western side of the Ohio. They have been numerous and arduous, but the Lord has been wonderfully condescending and gracious to me; and abundant cause for thankfulness have I for the help vouchsafed in the needful hour. We expect to cross the Ohio into Virginia to-morrow morning. May my gracious Lord and Master go with us to preserve us in perfect safety both of body and soul!

From one of his letters:—

We left Gallipolis early in the morning, and having crossed the Ohio, we entered at once on the Virginian forest. Our journey was adventurous and difficult, the road winding through apparently interminable woods; in some parts rocky and hilly; in others

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deep with mud. As night approached, and night in these regions comes on with little notice of twilight, we were pursuing our journey through the forest over a very high hill. By an almost precipitous descent, we arrived, just before total darkness, at a little farm-house, where we earnestly hoped that we should find a lodging. But no such accommodation was there. We were instructed to go half a mile further to a more likely tenement. In the course of this half-mile, we were in great danger of being overturned in descending the steep bank of a stream which it was necessary to cross, though all was then darkness. I shall not forget the comfort of at length finding ourselves in shelter and safety beside a blazing log fire, though with rough fare, and in a very humble dwelling. Of the two little beds in the kitchen, one was occupied by an elderly friend of our company and his wife; the other was kindly reserved for myself. The rest of our company were lodged in a small garret. Want of cleanliness is the only real pain on such occasions.

Their journey through Virginia was continued for several days along the romantic banks of the Kenhawa.

"It is a curious circumstance," writes Joseph John Gurney, "that numerous fountains of brine are found within a few yards of the river. We were told that they bored for it, to the amazing depth of six, seven, or eight hundred feet. The salt produced is excellent. The Americans are wonderfully eager and enterprising; but alas for the slaves, who are employed in these works!"

"We arrived at night-fall," he continues, "at a comfortable house of entertainment, kept by a notorious hunter, who, amidst the wild mountains and forests of this neighbourhood, had succeeded in destroying an amazing number of panthers, wolves, and bears. These animals are still frequent in a district which, with the exception of the narrow and fertile valley through which the river runs, defies all attempts at squatting or settling. Wild cats are also numerous here, and the deer abound. Not long previously, our landlord had killed two bears and three deer one

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morning before breakfast; at another time, a panther which, from the tip of its tail to that of its nose, measured ten feet ten inches. The young panthers are spotted; the old ones of a light brown. One day when on horseback, he was carrying a dead deer across his saddle through the forest, and suddenly found himself surrounded by seven wolves. The foremost aggressor, on a rising ground, was ready to make his spring; but the hunter shot him at once, and the others immediately fled.

In the course of the following day, we left the romantic river, and wound our way at a slow pace into the high country, this being the course which the new turnpike takes. As we were pursuing our journey in an uninteresting part of the road, and along-side of the forest, we observed on our right hand a small path running up a hill, through the wood. We had been advised to watch for it, and when found, to examine it for ourselves. We accordingly left our carriages, and after pursuing this sequestered path, on foot, not much more than fifty yards, we found ourselves, unexpectedly, on the flat top of a perpendicular rock, many hundred feet high. This was the celebrated "Hawk's Nest." We laid hold for safety on the bare boughs of a little cedar on the edge of the precipice, and willingly gave ourselves up to the silent contemplation of one of the most magnificent prospects to be found in North America. The New River which afterwards, with another stream, forms the Kenhawa, is here seen winding its course first through a romantic dell, and afterwards along an open plain at the foot of a glorious chain of mountains covered with forest, amongst which it appears at last to lose itself. The beauty of the scene was much enhanced by the rich woods which lay immediately below the precipice, and covered most of the plain through which the river was flowing."

To be travelling through a population, a large proportion of which is in a state of slavery, was a circumstance very affecting to Joseph John Gurney's feelings. But he was desirous to form no hasty judgment of the state of things around him.

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"It is impossible," he remarks, "for a casual traveller to form an exact estimate of the real condition of the slaves in America. One thing is certain, that they are systematically excluded by law from all school instruction; and though, undoubtedly, there are many humane slave-holders, it follows from the very nature of the case, that great cruelties must often be perpetrated. I well remember that an ingenuous white lad who guided me, one day, to a bathing place on the banks of the Kenhawa, gave me an affecting account of the whippings with the cow-hide, (sometimes amounting to 200 lashes,) which are still often inflicted on these children of oppression. The best aspect under which I saw American slavery, was at the public meetings for worship, which were held, in the course of this journey, in numerous towns and villages of Virginia and North Carolina. The slaves often attended in considerable numbers, and generally occupied the gallery, while the body of the house was filled by the white inhabitants. I was glad to find that this liberty was allowed them in many places, though the practice is not universal. I felt it to be a privilege on these occasions, freely to proclaim those grand principles of Christian truth, which are of equal application to bond and free; but which, nevertheless, when truly received and acted on, cannot fail to undermine the system of slavery. Although, of course, the subject of slavery itself could not, with propriety, be adverted to, I was often surprised by observing that a close practical application of the principles of the gospel, was not only patiently borne, but even received with apparent cordiality."

Having arrived in North Carolina, he writes in his Journal:—

11*th mo.*, 2*nd*. We have journeyed along quietly to-day forty-five miles, and are come this evening to a very comfortable house. My mind is graciously kept in a state of much quietness; and in the review of this interesting journey of nearly 600 miles, I can indeed gratefully acknowledge the goodness and lovingkindness of the Lord. Some trials of faith and patience have fallen to my

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lot; but I know not that the three weeks which the transit has occupied, could have been more desirably spent elsewhere. I feel the prospect of the Yearly Meeting for North Carolina, but humbly trust I may again be mercifully helped in the hour of need.

TO WILLIAM FORSTER.

New Garden, North Carolina, 11th mo., 7th, 1837.

* * * I am now writing from Friends' New School House, where I am surrounded with a throng who are lodging in the house during the Yearly Meeting, besides boys and girls. My way seems fully open among Friends here, who abound in love and kindness; and I suppose it must be considered a time of renewed visitation; something which may be fitly called a revival, as I thought was the case both in Ohio and Indiana. It is impossible for me to doubt that I am where I ought to be; the door for service is so wide open, and there is such a thirsty soil around me, waiting for the waters. I am very much at rest and quiet in my mind; a state which I ought with gratitude to acknowledge to be one of happiness; though it is impossible to describe how strange a thing I feel it, to be at so vast a distance from all whom I most love. Truly it is a novel experience, and were it not for a humble trust that the Lord will graciously preserve my beloved ones, it would be painful indeed.

TO HIS CHILDREN.

New Garden, 11th mo., 8th, 1837.

It is an inexpressible pleasure to me thus to communicate with you, my tenderly beloved children; need I say that you are the perpetual subject of my thoughts and prayers; my fervent desire being, that you may have abundant grace given you to serve the Lord in the beauty of holiness. * * *

You have heard of Nathan Hunt. He is now in his 80th year, brought up in humble life as a blacksmith, I believe, but a thorough gentleman in his manners, and his face shining with the "heavenly oil." It is delightful to be with the dear old man, to

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receive his unqualified tokens of hearty unity, and to hear his *outpourings* in the ministry. Perhaps about the best meeting I ever attended was a public one held by appointment of the Yearly Meeting yesterday. I had been prepared for my share of it, by much lowness and trial of mind, and have seldom felt the same power in preaching the glorious gospel. Nathan Hunt's prayer at the close of the meeting was an extraordinary effusion indeed.

I am staying at the boarding-school, an institution which promises well for the Society in these parts. It is under the superintendence of two valuable ministers; Nathan Hunt's daughter Asenath, and her husband Dougan Clarke. The house is lately built in a very picturesque situation in the forest, near the old Meeting-house. This latter is simplicity itself, and looks like a large old barn, but the woods around it are highly beautiful. The trees are more *spreading* here than in the far west, where they grow to a very great height, and have insignificant tops. The burial ground is quite beautiful. A vast spreading oak adorns its centre. Here rest the remains of many poor British soldiers, who died of their wounds after Lord Cornwallis's victory at Guilford, in the first American war; the meeting-house having then served as a hospital. It is a real pleasure and satisfaction to be among Friends in these parts; and I think it probable that I may have to visit the subordinate meetings of this state, before I attempt returning to Philadelphia. If so, I shall be journeying about in my humble, but comfortable, conveyance for some weeks. I wish you could take a peep at me and my carriage, driven by my honest, serious companion, William Kenworthy, and drawn by those homely, lively, faithful "creatures," David and Jonathan, the former bay, the latter white. I cannot imagine a more suitable *set out*. Elizabeth Coggeshall, who visited England many years ago, is here, to my great comfort. She is a cheerful, pleasing Friend. I cannot picture to myself a more *wholesome* form of religion than she presents. Indeed, I may truly say, that abundant have been the confirmations which I have received since my lot has been cast in America, of the truth of those religious principles on which I am desirous of acting, and which,

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I trust, are increasingly precious to you. When the Lord's anointing is allowed its free course, without let, hindrance, or prejudice, fervent evangelical love of the Saviour prevailing in connexion with it, the effect is delightful. May you and I prize it more and more!

In another letter he says:—

After the Yearly Meeting was concluded, I set off with my kind friend William Kenworthy, and our excellent horses, with a young man on horseback for our guide, on a visit to a round of meetings in Guilford and Randolph counties. Our journey, which lasted nearly a month, though somewhat laborious, was to me fraught with interest. The people at whose houses we lodged from night to night, were in great simplicity in their mode of living; but the rough accommodation which often fell to our lot was amply compensated by unvarying kindness. I could not be otherwise than surprised and delighted by the flocking together of the people to the meetings which were held, one after another, in the midst of these woods. On some occasions the numbers collected were so large, that, although it was now late in the eleventh month, we were obliged to hold our meetings in the open air. This circumstance, however, occasioned no material difficulty, as the weather was delightful, and the sky without a cloud.

In his Journal he continues:—

11*th mo.*, 16*th*. [After alluding to the holding of several meetings.] They have all been favoured times, and though at seasons I have felt an inexpressible sort of solitary desolation, and a temptation to impatience in not getting on more quickly; yet on a calm review of these few days, I can with gratitude acknowledge, that all is ordered aright. The Lord be praised for his matchless goodness! The truth is simple and changeth not. I have no new doctrines to proclaim in my ministry; but the Lord in his great goodness has been pleased to clothe it with considerable variety; and I believe his precious anointing has

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not been withheld. It has been my earnest desire, and the frequent and fervent petition of my soul, that I may be preserved from speaking in the name of the Lord, otherwise than under the immediate putting forth of this precious influence. I deeply feel I can do nothing without it; and, with it, there is a life which man cannot command. Never was I more sensible of this truth, and never did I feel more bound in my spirit to exalt that holy principle of grace in the heart, which will not make any compromise with evil; and will, as it is followed, lead into all righteousness. May multitudes be turned to it, saith my soul; and may the Lord graciously enable me to maintain my integrity in the truth, in humility, simplicity, and godly sincerity!

11th mo., 21st. I have been low every morning before the approaching exercise of my gift; but I believe this experience is needful to prepare for a purer and more powerful service than would otherwise be attained to. I cannot express how kind and liberal the Lord has been to me in bestowing his own blessed anointing. Never did I so fully feel its value; and never was I more alive to the comfort, as well as safety, of keeping under it; dependent upon it, and within its limits. May this graciously continue to be experienced! I am remarkably little disposed to any kind of subordinate service, just now; my simple business seems to be to preach the everlasting gospel of my Holy Redeemer, to the sinful, the weary, and the faint.

Having returned to New Garden, North Carolina, Joseph John Gurney spent a few days at the boarding school for Friends' children at that place; with the view of encouraging the pursuit of scriptural knowledge upon the principles which had been so beneficially acted on at Ackworth. Thence he proceeded on a visit to the southern and eastern parts of the state, intending afterwards to go northwards to Richmond in Virginia. This journey, by the same mode of conveyance, occupied another month.

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Thomas Thompson's, Eno. Fifth day evening, 12th mo., 7th. We have arrived at this comfortable shelter after nightfall; our journey from Greensborough, over very indifferent roads in part, having been thirty-eight miles. I have enjoyed and prized the quietness of this day, passed in travelling; the Bible and Comstock's familiar work on Philosophy having been (in addition to William Kenworthy and Horace Cannon) my acceptable companions. Yesterday was a favoured one. After holding a very solemn farewell meeting, we cleared off happily from New Garden. Tranquil were our feelings, though the parting from our beloved aged prophet* may be regarded as final. We proceeded to Greensboro', where we were favoured with a good public meeting; the academy and "professors," being present.

12th mo., 9th. We continue to be mercifully helped on our way. The meeting at Eno was satisfactory, and our intercourse with our friends there, was, I trust, of some advantage to them. A drive of thirteen miles this morning brought us to Chapel Hill, the seat of the North Carolina University. In the afternoon we held a meeting with the students, more than 100 out of 140 were present, besides two of the Professors, and the President, Governor Swaine. It was to me a very relieving time, the internal evidence of Christianity opening before me with great force and clearness, and utterance, and at last, I think, entrance being graciously given.

12th mo., 12th. Our time at Raleigh was unusually productive and interesting. The meeting on first day large, and much favoured; both white and black present. Yesterday, social and religious visits to many rather interesting people in their families —Judge Saunders, Judge Cameron (to tea,) with the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Methodist Ministers; and in the evening we held another very solemn meeting in the Presbyterian Meeting-house; parting in much peace from the inhabitants. The subjects of slavery, and the internal slave trade, which abound here, have

* Nathan Hunt.

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deeply oppressed and affected my mind; but I have felt quite clear in restricting my public labours to the faithful preaching of the full gospel.

From one of his letters:—

I was treated with great politeness by some of the principal gentry of Raleigh; and the meetings which were held during our visit of two days to the place, were well attended both by them and their slaves. But my heart was sickened by the accounts which I heard in this neighbourhood, of the prevalence of the internal slave trade. I was assured, on the best authority, that two-thirds of the funds of the bank of North Carolina were invested in loans to the slave merchants; and that not less than a million of dollars had been expended the year before, in the single county of Caswell, for the purchase of negroes on speculation. The plain fact is, that the lands of North Carolina and Virginia have been for so many years under a process of exhaustion by slave-labour, that this labour is no longer a source of profit. The negroes themselves are now the only profitable article on the estate, and to breed them for sale insensibly becomes the regular business of the country. In defiance of the ties of home, matrimony, and kindred, they are sold to the dealers, and afterwards transported to Alabama, Louisiana, and other states to the south and south-west; and thus a traffic, ruinous in its own nature, and utterly disgraceful in its moral character, becomes more and more familiar to the slave holding public of America. * * *

After holding meetings in the little towns of Smithfield and Waynesboro', and visiting some sequestered settlements of Friends on the deep and rapid Neuse river, and at a place called Contentnea, we turned our course northward, passed over the Roanoake and Chowan rivers, and entered on the counties of Perquimans and Pasquotank, at the north-eastern extremity of the state.

This part of the country is remarkable for swamps and jungles, which are still inhabited by bears and panthers; and alligators are frequent in some of the rivers. The soil is rich; and, notwithstanding the unhealthiness of the climate, we found rather a large

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community of Friends, settled in the district. George Fox visited this country, through great personal difficulties, and laid the foundation of a society here, which still maintains itself in a very creditable manner. The forests through which we passed in this part of our journey, presented no interesting scenery; but the holly trees covered with red berries, under the flickering sunshine, were highly ornamental, and the sweet-scented American myrtle is common amongst the underwood. * * * After spending many days amongst our friends, inspecting their excellent school, and holding large meetings at Elizabeth city, on the coast, and many other places, we were guided by some of our kind brethren into the south-eastern part of Virginia. * * *

In his Journal he writes:—

12th mo., *31st.* The last day of 1837! A precious solitude is now permitted in my comfortable chamber at John Hare's, Summerton Meeting-house, Virginia. We arrived here last evening, after a journey of thirty-six miles, from our friend Nathan Winslow's, near Piny Woods. The fallow day was useful to me, after a week of closely successive exercises, which closed memorably with a visit to the Quarterly Meeting School, at Piny Woods, (about forty children,) when the Ackworth system of scriptural instruction was instituted there. The love and openness of Friends were very precious.

I have now done with North Carolina, perhaps for ever; and look back on the eight weeks spent in that state, with a remarkably peaceful and unclouded sense of the goodness of the Lord, who has led me along safely, guided my steps, put his word into my mouth, and at times poured forth his anointing in a remarkable manner. "What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits towards me? I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord; I will pay my vows unto the Lord, now in the presence of all his people." On a calm review of this period, ought I not, above all, to thank him for those very low states which have been so frequent during its course, and which have

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never failed to lead the way to a fresh supply of his unction and grace?

In commencing with Virginia, and in looking forward to arduous service at Richmond, Washington, Baltimore, &c., I trust I am made deeply sensible of my own unworthiness and unfitness for the work. O Lord, in the plenitude of thy mercies, undertake for me, and let thy own glorious works abundantly praise thee!

It is a solemn thing to me to close the present year; and a cause of unutterable thankfulness, in looking back upon past conflicts, that I am permitted to close it in peace. Never, I believe, while memory lasts, shall I forget the "ringing in" of this year, by the West Ham bells, as I lay on my bed, in the midnight hour at Upton; it seemed almost like the knell of death to me; but surely America was at the bottom of it, though I then knew not the cause of my suffering. Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless and hallow his glorious name!

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CHAPTER XXXI.

1838. ÆT. 50.

JOURNEY FROM RICHMOND TO WASHINGTON; INTERVIEWS WITH THE PRESIDENT; HENRY CLAY; JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, &C.; MEETING AT WASHINGTON; BALTIMORE; PHILADELPHIA; NEW YORK; RHODE ISLAND; MASSACHUSETTS; JUSTICE STORY; DR. CHANNING; REFLECTIONS ON COMPLETING HIS 50TH YEAR.

After spending rather more than two weeks in Virginia, part of which was occupied in a visit to Richmond, the capital of that state, "a handsome city of 20,000 inhabitants," Joseph John Gurney proceeded to Washington.

"During a week's journey from Richmond to Washington," he writes in one of his letters, "we came to a considerable settlement of Friends at Cedar Creek. One of the principal of them, a person of high respectability, had been distributing, some time before, an excellent address against slavery, which had been issued by the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia. This was an offence, which, by the law of Virginia, was punishable with two years imprisonment and hard labour in the penitentiary. The case was brought before a court of justice, and our friend was certainly in great peril. But his known respectability called forth the better feelings of the gentlemen of the district, with many of whom he was familiar; and, greatly to their credit, the grand jury ignored the bill. I believe that his influence and labours in relation to this subject were by no means fruitless; improving sentiments respecting it were diffusing themselves in the neighbourhood; and in our public meeting for worship, at

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Cedar Creek, some close practical remarks, which were fully understood as applying to the evils of slavery, were listened to with great attention." * * *

After holding a meeting at Fredericksburgh, a considerable town, pleasantly situated on the Rappahanock, we took the steamer the next morning on the river Potomac, and enjoyed a delightful voyage of sixty miles, to the city of Washington. The river is of a magnificent breadth, the banks generally low and woody. Both the Virginia and Maryland shores, as we were informed, had been once highly cultivated; but the blight of slavery has now rendered them comparatively unproductive. Shad and herring are caught in abundance in this river; the finest oysters are also found here; and during the cold of winter, its surface is sometimes half covered with thousands of ducks. We saw considerable numbers of them, of a black and white plumage.

On the south bank of the stream, not far from the city of Alexandria, is Mount Vernon, a lofty, wooded bluff, on which stands the elegant but simple villa where Washington lived, died, and was buried. We had no opportunity of visiting this interesting spot; but as we passed by it, we could not but pay a cordial mental tribute to the genius, as well as political and private virtue of that extraordinary man. To think of his having been both a soldier and a slave-holder, was, indeed, a subject of deep regret. But we nevertheless knew that he was a man of prayer, and his qualities of mind were peculiarly calculated to obtain for him the warmest affections of America, and the respect of the world. I was a good deal interested afterwards in examining a copy of his pecuniary accounts, in his capacity of commander-in-chief. They were written in his own bold, clear hand, and displayed an astonishing accuracy of detail. The union of this minute care with the most comprehensive opinions and designs, constitutes a singular feature in his character. He is generally regarded as having been the most religious of the American presidents.

The aspect of the city of Washington under the bright sunlight of a winter afternoon, as we glided over the vast sheet of water

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into which the river here dilates, partook rather largely of the sublime and beautiful. The Capitol, which stands on a considerable elevation, and is built of white stone, was the most conspicuous object in the scene. It is the restoration of the building which the British army so wantonly set on fire in the last American war; and might be considered exceedingly handsome, were it not for its leaden, heavy dome, which is sadly out of proportion, and mars the beauty of the edifice. We landed at the wharf at nightfall on the 17th of the 1st month, 1838, and found very comfortable accommodation at Brown's Hotel. There our company was soon joined by some of our friends from Baltimore and Philadelphia.

On the morning after our arrival we went up in good time to the Capitol, and were introduced to several of the senators, particularly to Colonel Preston, from South Carolina, a gentleman of remarkable urbanity of manners, and endued with what may be justly described as the silver tongue of eloquence. I also enjoyed a short interview with Daniel Webster. His forehead is of remarkable prominence and breadth, his eye penetrating; and the little which I heard of his public speaking was strong, clear, and fluent. With Henry Clay, of Kentucky, we conversed for some time in private. He is the Brougham of America, as it relates to his ready wit and powers of fervid declamatory argument; but is doubtless his inferior in literary and scientific attainment. His figure is tall and slender, and there is an expression of humour and benevolence in his countenance, which, in connexion with his marked politeness, is very winning. He expressed kind feelings and good principles on the subject of slavery, as well as on that of the wrongs of the Aborigines. But he complained bitterly of the abolition movement, and was evidently, like other slave-holders, under the influence of some very strong prejudices.

In the evening we spent a very agreeable hour with John Quincy Adams, once the President of the United States; and almost the only anti-slavery advocate in congress, though, on several points, himself differing from the abolitionists. He is

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now an old man; yet full of mental vigour and animation, and probably more fraught with learning and information than any other man in America. He received us with great kindness and cordiality. On a subsequent morning, at the early hour of nine o'clock, we were introduced to Martin Van Buren, the President, a gentleman of great affability and ease of manner, with much acuteness, and I think, benevolence also marked on his countenance. During our short interview, the subjects of our conversation were the African slave-trade, and the claims of the native Indian tribes; on both which topics he spoke with a good deal of firmness. It was my endeavour to impress on the mind of the President the vast importance of the cordial co-operation of America with the European powers, in the suppression of the slave-trade, on the perfectly reasonable principle of a mutual right of search, a principle which surely ought not to offend the pride of any one nation. But the Americans are a community of kings, every man his own ruler, and they shrink from the very notion of indignity. Thus I fear they are but too likely to persist in sacrificing the interests of humanity to what is falsely regarded as national honour.

The principal object which I now had in view, in visiting Washington, was the holding of a meeting for worship with the officers of government and members of congress. My mind was attracted towards these public men, under a feeling of religious interest; and far beyond my expectation did my way open for accomplishing the purpose. Colonel Polk, the speaker of the representative assembly, granted me the use of the legislative hall; the chaplain of the house (a respectable Wesleyan minister) kindly surrendered his accustomed service for our accommodation; public invitation was given in the newspapers; and when we entered the hall, on the following first day morning, we found it crowded with the members of congress, their ladies, and many other persons. The President and other officers of the government were also of the company. It was to me a serious and critical occasion. One of my friends sat down with me in the speaker's rostrum; a feeling of calmness was graciously bestowed upon us; and a silent solemnity overspread the whole meeting. After a time, my mind

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became deeply impressed with the words of our blessed Redeemer, "I am the way, the truth, and the life." Speaking from this text, I was led to describe the main features of orthodox Christianity; to declare that these doctrines had been faithfully held by the Society of Friends, from their first rise to the present day; to dwell on the evidences, both historical and internal, which form the credentials of the gospel, considered as a message to mankind from the king of heaven and earth; to urge the claims of that message on the world at large, on America in particular, a country so remarkably blessed by Divine Providence, and above all, on her statesmen and her legislators; to advise the devotional duties of the closet, as a guard against the dangers and temptations of politics; to dwell on the peaceable government of Christ by his Spirit; and finally to insist on the perfect law of righteousness, as applying to nations, as well as individuals, to the whole of the affairs of men, both private and public. A solemn silence again prevailed at the close of the meeting; and after it was concluded, we received the warm greetings of Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams, and many other members, of whom we took our leave in the flowing of mutual kindness. Thus was I set free from the heavy burden which had been pressing upon me. In the evening we met a large assembly in the Methodist chapel, in George Town, a populous place almost adjoining Washington,; and the next morning pursued our journey forward to a small settlement of Friends, in the state of Maryland.

In his Journal he writes:—

Baltimore, 1st mo., 25th. A drive of twenty-four miles, over poor roads and a poor country, brought us hither. The view of the Patapsco river, Chesapeake bay, and the city, as we approached it, under the light of the bright evening sun, was striking and beautiful. I have a truly comfortable home; and we have been favoured with a very relieving meeting this morning, half public; many Hicksites. I have ventured to appoint two public meetings, and am about to engage in a family visit to the interesting

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flock here. My way seems remarkably made amongst them, to my humble admiration.

2nd mo., 2nd. My work has been arduous, and I hope is now done. I have gone through the families, in much feeling of poverty and humiliation; upwards of sixty visits. Large meeting of coloured people on fourth day evening; and, yesterday, meetings at the jail and penitentiary.

From Baltimore Joseph John Gurney proceeded to Philadelphia.

"The distance between the two cities," he observes, in one of his letters, "is about one hundred miles; and one circumstance on the journey is well calculated to interest a stranger. It is the conspicuousness of the line (though without any natural division) which separates the slave-wrought lands of Maryland, from the free territory of Pennsylvania. The sudden transit from inferior to superior cultivation, and from impoverished soil to fertility, is extremely striking, especially at the more advanced seasons of the year; and certainly it speaks volumes for the instruction of statesmen, in proof of the impolicy of slavery. One can hardly imagine on what grounds this perpetual visible evidence can be long resisted."

Joseph John Gurney continued in Philadelphia and its neighbourhood upwards of three months. The Society of Friends in this city is still a numerous and influential body. Besides attending the Quarterly and other meetings in the city, and in some of the adjoining districts, as well as the Yearly Meeting, in usual course, he was closely engaged in paying religious visits to the families of Friends in three out of the four "Monthly Meetings" into which the city is divided.

A minister of the gospel, more especially one engaged as he was, must not expect to have a course free from difficulty. Great is the trial, to the servant of Christ, of being mis-

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understood and misinterpreted by those who sincerely love, and desire to serve, the same blessed Redeemer; but he may surely be consoled by the reflection, that from age to age such has been the portion of many faithful believers. This, in a remarkable degree, was the case with the early Friends. Their views were misunderstood and misinterpreted by other professing Christians, and frequently were the motives and course of action of the more eminent amongst them not comprehended even by the members of their own Society. Separated as the human family is, by an almost endless variety of dispositions and circumstances, and very imperfectly, if at all, acquainted with one another's motives, impressions are often received of the conduct of others, which further acquaintance and more exact investigation prove to be wholly unfounded, or greatly mistaken and exaggerated. It is possible that some of the readers of these pages have already discovered that their acquaintance with Joseph John Gurney (and perhaps also with their own hearts) was at this time too imperfect to enable them to form a just estimate of his character; and now, perhaps, in the cool of the day, they may be, at times, led to look back with some sadness at the misconceptions which then, to a limited extent, prevailed.*

"The dispensation, trying as it is," he writes, in one of his letters, in allusion to this subject, "has been, to myself, seasonable; a wonderful defence against undue exaltation; bringing me, from time to time, low and prostrate before the Lord. I thank God for the wholesome discipline; and earnestly do I desire and pray that not a single unchristian feeling towards my opposers may enter into my heart. With all their mistakes, I give them credit for much sincere love to Christ."

* See *infra*, chap. xlvi.

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The following are from his Journal of this period:—

2nd mo., 4th. The Quarterly Meeting of ministers and elders, yesterday morning, passed off quietly and well; various calls and interviews with Friends in the after part of the day. A long one with my dear friend ———, kindly intended to prepare me for conflict and impediment. I have felt it a good deal during the night; but I think my chief anxiety is, that the Society and, above all, the cause of truth may not suffer; and I am mercifully favoured with precious quietness of mind this morning. O Lord, I most earnestly and reverently beseech thee, that, surrounded as I am by some opposing influences, and some share of perplexity, I may be enabled, by thy grace, to keep a conscience void of offence in thy sight, and in the sight of my fellow-men, avoiding even the appearance of evil. O for a holy integrity and independence in the truth, united with the wisdom of the serpent, the meekness of the lamb, and the harmlessness of the dove!

Third day, [*2nd mo., 6th.*] Yesterday, the Quarterly Meeting; a good time; the ministry which fell to my lot was close and searching; but it is evident that I have a course of some difficulty and tribulation before me. May I accept it with all cheerfulness and submission! To-day, at the Northern Monthly Meeting, (dear Stephen Grellet present,) I laid before Friends my concern to visit the families; much unity, but some little opposition appeared. This was over-ruled, and I suppose that John Paul will commence the work with me to-morrow morning. May the Lord graciously sustain me in patient resignation!

Fifth day evening. We have passed through two days of family visiting; and I believe the gracious anointing oil, which can alone qualify for the service, has not been withheld; eight visits yesterday as a beginning; ten to-day.

2nd mo., 18th. Good series of visits yesterday; drank tea very agreeably at Ellis Yarnell's. A quiet mind is mercifully bestowed this morning. Earnest are my breathings to the Lord, that I may be preserved from uttering anything this day in public, except under the "anointing;" and that in and under this, I may be

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gifted with a holy boldness in the truth. I humbly trust that ground has been gradually gained.

22*nd*. To-day, Philadelphia Monthly Meeting at Arch street. I laid my concern before Friends for visiting their families, which was acceded to. Only one opposing voice. Five family sittings since. I have felt much peace in having taken this further step with Friends; and it is evident that, through mercy, my way is opening among them.

Second day evening, 3rd mo., 5th. [After attending the Quarterly Meeting at Burlington.] The visit to Burlington was an occasion of encouragement and comfort. It is delightful to enlarge the boundaries of gospel fellowship. Rebecca Grellet, John Cox, Susan Smith and her children, Julia Clarke, and Abigail Barker, with many others, were then added to my list of Friends, known and loved. We returned as we came, by the rail-car and ice-boat, on fourth day morning, and pursued our family visits with quiet diligence during the remainder of the week. Yesterday was a favoured day. Something like the closing of the commission at the North meeting in the morning; a very searching time, but I trust the power of the Lord accompanied the word. To-day, we have been again quietly pursuing our visits. My mind, through adorable mercy, is clothed with much peaceful quiet. Can I be too thankful?

3rd mo., 16th. The family visit in Arch street, with dear Thomas Stewardson as a companion and elder, has hitherto sped well; though the work has been very humbling. Good meeting yesterday; my subject, "the practical fruits of true Christianity." On the whole, I am thankful and cheered; blessed be the name of the Lord. Now for the deep and watchful indwelling in Christ!

3rd mo., 25th. On fourth day I attended the Western Monthly Meeting. Many Friends, not of the district, were also there. It was a weighty time. I was much engaged in ministry. "There is a middle path which is the way of safety; and there is a middle path which is the way to death." My concern to visit the families was warmly united with.

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4th mo., 3rd. Arrived at my dear aged friend Thomas Wistar's, at ten o'clock yesterday; and we have spent two days together in family visiting, (in the Western District,) I hope and believe satisfactorily. Great watchfulness and weightiness of spirit are surely required in this work!

First day evening, 8th. The meeting with the young people this evening very large. I was led to unfold the doctrine and discipline of the cross, as it applies both to worship and conduct. I never get on so comfortably in religious service, as when I have no anticipation whatever in my own mind of its nature. This pointing of previous exercise cannot, as I well know, always be avoided; yet it is much more consoling and refreshing to my own spirit when the concern comes upon me, as it did this morning, at the instant. I wish to be preserved from anticipatory exercise as far as possible, and (to adopt an old Friend's image) "go to meeting as a blank sheet."

4th mo., 16th. Since the last entry I have been favoured to realize divine help, from day to day, through no small variety and depth of exercise of mind. I have abundant cause for gratitude in the retrospect of the Western family visit. A large public meeting on sixth day evening, very relieving. The Yearly Meeting of ministers and elders, on seventh day, a time of close exercise of mind. I am very thankful for close unity with such men as Stephen Grellet and John Cox. And, under the difficulties and discouragements which still remain, I desire to be very meek, quiet, patient, fearless in the Lord. My mind is remarkably tranquil.

4th mo., 22nd. Great are thy mercies, O Lord; my soul desires to commemorate them with humble gratitude. The week has been passed through wonderfully; and I am at ease and peace, ready to praise my God and Saviour. The first sitting of the Yearly Meeting was very trying, from the manifestations of a hard, overbearing spirit; but, from that time, truth and liberty began to arise and spread. The several sittings were large—larger than any known since the Hicksite separation, and increased towards the end. I was twice engaged in solemn prayer; and, in

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the last sitting particularly, was somewhat enlarged in preaching. I also clearly unfolded my views of American Slavery, and paid a visit to the women's meeting, where there was evidently a very open door for service.

5th mo., 12th. On second day, [Philadelphia] Quarterly Meeting. In the evening, laid before the men-elders my concern for a concluding young people's meeting; all of them there. I was much exercised in mind, during the hour and a half which they occupied in discussing the proposition, fearing lest I had involved myself and the cause in difficulty; but notwithstanding the strong opposition from a particular quarter, it was decided that the meeting should be held. This result afforded me great relief; and I afterwards spent a cheerful evening at Moses Brown's, with the Wistar family. Third day, visit to the penitentiary, which is admirable; good meeting in one corridor; visit to the alms-house in the afternoon; good meeting there. Fourth day, to Germantown, (Abington Quarterly Select Meeting,) which passed off pretty well. Spent the afternoon at Deborah Logan's old mansion, built by James Logan, William Penn's secretary. Public meeting in the evening at Germantown, much crowded. Fifth day, Abington Quarterly Meeting; larger than I expected. I was much engaged in the meeting for worship. In the subsequent meeting, leave to open the shutters (to unite men and women in a closing opportunity) was refused; the first instance of the actual obstruction of a religious service which has ever occurred to me. I have desired that, in the humiliation of self, it may operate beneficially. Sixth day, visit to the president and directors of the bank of the United States; inspection of the mint. Two meetings at the Moyamensing prison in the afternoon; and in the evening, the farewell meeting of young people; very large, solemn, and relieving. This morning, breakfast with J. Vaughan, at the Philosophical Rooms; met Du Ponceau, the president, a lawyer and linguist of rare attainments. Since, many calls; and now I am once more at B. Cooper's peaceful country residence, in a good degree of peace and comfort. "Bless the Lord, O my soul."

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After describing a round of country meetings, in which he was accompanied by his friend Israel W. Morris, and in one or two of which he met with some trial, he writes:—

5th mo., 21st. * * * Where influential persons are watching for one's halting, the *life* cannot arise in its fulness, unless the Lord be pleased to put forth pre-eminent power. These are rough things in my course, to which I am little accustomed. I never met with the like before, but I have no doubt they are permitted for good purposes; and I feel thankful for the humiliation thus allotted me. May I, through infinite mercy, be clothed upon with the integrity, patience, meekness, and quietness of Christ! I have been enjoying a solitary wander of an hour or more—O how deep the solitude of the fields and woods!—and was enabled to pour forth my heart in solemn, fervent prayer for myself and for my children. Much internal tranquillity is, through adorable mercy, my portion.

5th mo., 24th. We had an excellent Quarterly Meeting at Concord, notwithstanding all discouragements; and my visit and services were recorded as satisfactory. Both Israel Morris and I feel that the Lord has dealt very graciously with us. I am on my return to Philadelphia, with the prospect of leaving it to-morrow in peace.

Whilst in Philadelphia and its neighbourhood, Joseph John Gurney took the opportunity of visiting several of the hospitals, prisons, and other public institutions. He was particularly interested with the Eastern Penitentiary, in which he found the separate system of prison discipline "admirably conducted" under the care of Samuel Wood. In his letters he also alludes with much pleasure to his visits to the schools at West-town and Haverford.

The former is situated in a healthy and picturesque part of Chester County. The landscape around it of woods, hills, valleys, and here and there a little stream, is beautiful. Here about

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230 of the children of Friends of both sexes, receive, under judicious care, a guarded and religious education, on a somewhat higher scale than in the public schools belonging to our body at Ackworth and Croydon. The Holy Scriptures are daily read, and the children instructed in their contents. I have every reason to believe that the moral and religious influence of this institution is at once powerful and extensive. * * *

A drive of fifteen miles from West-town, across a "rolling" country of much picturesque beauty, brought us to Haverford, where there has been lately established an academy, or rather college, for the education of an older and more opulent class of lads. Repeatedly, and always with great pleasure, did I visit this institution. At this time there were seventy boys and young men accommodated in the house, which was built for the purpose, pursuing a course of classical and scientific study, under well-qualified teachers. Each of them is provided with a neat little chamber, in which may be found his Bible, a few other books of his own selection, and the requisite articles of furniture. This separate lodging I hold to be a most important provision for the moral and religious welfare of the young. There was an appearance of order and sobriety to be observed in these young persons, accompanied by an obvious infusion of American independence, which pleased me greatly. In many of the young people whom I saw in different parts of the Union, after they had left this school, I was able clearly to trace the effects of that Christian care under which they had been placed at Haverford. The beauties of nature are not neglected. The house, which stands on an eminence, is in the midst of a pleasure ground, laid out after the English fashion. The boys had just been raising, among themselves and their friends, a purse of 2000 dollars, which has since been expended on an excellent conservatory. I look back on my visits to both of these seminaries, with peculiar gratification. Long may they flourish for the intellectual and spiritual benefit of our young people!

During my stay in Philadelphia, [he elsewhere remarks,] several circumstances transpired of a public nature, which were

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by no means calculated to impress me favourably on the subject of democratic institutions; though I am well aware that those of America are not without their great advantages.

One of these was the want of public virtue manifested in Congress, on the occasion of the fatal duel between Groves and Cilley. These combatants fought with rifles, fired repeatedly, and (as I was informed) drew ten paces nearer to each other at each fire, until poor Cilley, the father of four little children, fell and died. This murderous affair was suffered to pass with impunity; the murmurs in Congress on the subject soon died away; and the members attended the funeral of Cilley, who was, of course, just as guilty as his antagonist, with every mark of respect. It seemed to me that this was partly the result of the general notion, that every citizen of the state is left at almost unlimited liberty to do as he pleases.

Another circumstance which gave me a similar impression was the combination of a large company called the "Pre-emption Company," to deprive the Indians of the Seneca nation, in New York, of their reserved lands; and, under the pretext of a false and surreptitious treaty with some of their chiefs, to drive them into the western wilderness. Many Friends in Philadelphia have long been zealously engaged in the endeavour to stave off this act of unrighteousness, by personal applications to the officers of state, and other influential persons at Washington; but the corruption of members, who were set upon seizing the property of their neighbours, has prevailed over the simple dictates of justice, and thus this shameless treaty has at length been ratified.

A third circumstance was the change in the constitution of Pennsylvania, which had at this time just been carried *en masse*, by the votes of a majority of the people. The judicial office was reduced, by this change, to a state of entire dependence on the government and legislature of the day; and, by the introduction of that single word "white," the whole coloured population, 40,000 in number, were at once deprived of their citizenship. This affecting act of degradation was received by the coloured people with deep sorrow. I was told that a white boy was

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observed seizing the marbles of a coloured boy in one of the streets, with the words "you have no rights now." The coloured boy submitted in silence.

Shortly after my visit to Philadelphia, an event occurred which corresponded in its nature and principle with the circumstances already mentioned; but was of a more frightful and violent character. I mean the conflagration of the Pennsylvania Hall, at the time of the anti-slavery convention, after the assembly had been compelled to leave the room by violent and abusive conduct, The work of destruction was effected by an uncontrolled and uncontrollable assemblage of the people, including many persons dressed like gentlemen. True, indeed, it is, that no small provocatives to popular fury were administered on the occasion by the imprudence of some zealous individuals; but nothing, of course, could, in the least degree, justify this lawless attack, not only on the personal safety, but on the undoubted civil rights of a respectable part of the community. Nevertheless this tremendous outrage was permitted to pass over with perfect impunity.* The ruins of the hall still present to the view of the stranger a most significant memento, that there is no tyranny so bad as that of a mob; no government so dangerous as that of a self-willed and licentious populace.

Joseph John Gurney left Philadelphia for New York on the 25th of the 5th month.

The journey from Philadelphia, of about one hundred miles, was the easy occupation of a morning. The time of the Yearly Meeting for this state was come; and Friends were collecting in considerable numbers, not only from the immediate vicinity of the city, but from distant parts of the country; and more than a few from Canada. The followers of Elias Hicks are here the more numerous body, and have taken possession of the large old meeting-houses belonging to Friends. Our own meeting was

* The county subsequently paid for all damages done by the mob. *Note to the American Edition.*

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composed of about 1000 persons, men and women, and was very agreeably conducted, the members being much united in their endeavours to maintain the cause of sound, primitive Christianity.

There are two large buildings in New York which may be hired for public meetings either of a philanthropic or religious character. The Tabernacle, in Broadway, which is large enough to contain 4000 people; and an old theatre now converted into a chapel, in Chatham Street, which is said to hold more than 3000. Meetings for worship were appointed, at my request, in each of these buildings successively. These were attended by a multitude of Hicksites as well as Friends and persons of other denominations; and I had reason to believe that the doctrines of Christianity, as plainly unfolded in the New Testament, were then listened to with attention and good-will by many who had been accustomed to neglect or oppose them. I have no doubt that religion, under various administrations, is bearing with great force on the stirring and intelligent population of this great city. * * *

To recur to his Journal:—

Sixth day; 6th mo., 8th. Last second day morning early, started by steamboat for a voyage up the Hudson for Albany, the seat of the state legislature; the weather fine, the scenery novel and delightful. I greatly enjoyed it, and took several sketches; arrived at Dr. Sprague's in the evening, and met a cordial reception. Third day, spent with him at Albany, much to my satisfaction; the day ended with a good public meeting, in which the ever-blessed truth was freely proclaimed. Fourth day returned to New York; a wet, stormy day; spent the evening at Henry Hinsdale's. We took boat on fifth day evening, (Henry Hinsdale and myself, with Richard Mott and many other Friends,) for Newport, in Rhode Island, a voyage of 200 miles up Long Island sound, round point Judith, &c. We were favoured with a fine voyage, and reached Mary Williams's comfortable boarding house this morning, at an early hour before breakfast. The sunny, fresh morning, the bays of the sea, the harbour, the billows in which I have been bathing, a drive with Charles Jenkins in his

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chaise, have all been very pleasant, and my mind has been much clothed with quietness and peace.

After attending, at Newport, the Yearly Meeting of Friends in New England, he writes:—

6th mo., *16th*. I look back on the week, now drawing to its close, with a degree of humble gratitude. There have been times when I could indeed say, "I am desolate and afflicted," but the spring of divine love and power has arisen from season to season; and the glorious truth has been in good dominion during the course of the Yearly Meeting, and at its close yesterday morning. There seems a good work going on among the young people in these parts; many of them are interesting and intelligent.

From one of his letters:—

At Newport, I had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of Judge Story, who was presiding over the circuit court of the United States, then in session at that place. I called upon him at his lodgings, and was received with that easy urbanity which distinguishes the public men of America. His manners and appearance are remarkably lively, his conversation fluent, his information varied and extensive, and his legal lore almost unrivalled on this side the Atlantic. He invited me to take a seat by him on the bench; but, although my stay did not allow of my accepting his offer, the short time which I spent in his court afforded me an evidence of his good sense and acuteness in his capacity of a judge. He was then engaged in trying a case of mutiny, which had occurred among the seamen of an American merchantman. We could not wait the issue of the trial.

On our way from Newport to Providence, a journey which, by a somewhat circuitous route, occupied about a week, we called upon another celebrated citizen of New England, Dr. Channing, who resides during the summer months in a sequestered villa, on the island of Rhode Island. The place is embosomed in trees, and the garden is carefully laid out in green walks and flower beds like those of England.

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He is a man of slender frame and small stature; his countenance as completely intellectual as any I know. His manners, in the first instance, appeared to me to be reserved, but he soon became free and animated, when we conversed on the subject of slavery. Every one knows that his pen is distinguished for felicitous vigour. His expressive portraits of John Milton and Napoleon Bonaparte are well known in England; and his useful little work on the internal evidences of Christianity, might lead one to suppose that the leaning of his mind is in favour of evangelical truth. His pamphlets on slavery, on the annexation of Texas to the Union, and now lastly, on emancipation, are full of just sentiments, expressed in a lively, pointed, and spirited style. Most heartily do I desire that he may at last find his rest in the fullness which is in Christ.*

From his Journal:—

Providence, 6th mo., 25th. The round of meetings allotted for last week has been well got through. It was an interesting journey, and through an interesting country. The meeting at Providence crowned the whole, so that I have much cause for reverent gratitude; and further letters from my dearest children, up to the 30th of 5th mo., are decidedly comforting. We were favoured with help from the sanctuary yesterday, both in our morning meeting, and in a very large public one in the Baptist house in the evening; in which the Evidences of Christianity and the Divinity of our Saviour were much before me. It was one of the best public meetings which I have held in America; Dr. Wayland, the President of the College, the professors, clergy, &c., were there. My writings are popular among them, and I appear to be personally so; but the Lord is laying me low, even in the dust. I am about to hold a meeting with the students this evening, and have appointed a third public meeting for to-morrow. May I be graciously helped with that outpouring of the Lord's anointing, to which I bear such frequent testimony, and which such occasions so peculiarly require!

* This paragraph is slightly transposed.

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New Bedford, 7th mo., 1st. The meeting with the students at the college, after a tea visit at Dr. Wayland's, ended well. It was given to me to lead them to the internal evidence and practical bearing of Christianity. I was afterwards informed that a considerable impression was made on them. On third day, a precious visit to John and Elizabeth Meader, in the country; afterwards a truly baptizing meeting at Providence institution—the Friends' boarding school, which is admirably planted, but lacks more pupils. I returned thither in the afternoon, for a talk with the children, and established the Ackworth plan of Scripture instruction. In the evening, another large public meeting at the Baptist house, which was, to my own feelings, inexpressibly solemn. The president, professors, &c., united with many Friends in a party at William Jenkins' the next evening; when, in the course of conversation, to which the party listened with lively attention, I was enabled to unfold the doctrine of the anointing; we afterwards read a Psalm, and Anna Jenkins prayed.

Sixth day. A touching parting sitting with the Jenkins' family, at the late William Almy's mansion, and a truly solemn parting meeting with Friends, at eleven o'clock. Dr. Wayland, and many others not of our Society, present. A quiet steam-boat voyage of thirty miles refreshed me a good deal in the afternoon, and brought me to Fall River, in time for a public meeting, which was well attended, but rather overwhelming to my own spirit.

Yesterday, seventh day; I called on a few families; held two good meetings at Newton; and arrived at my very pleasant home (George Howland's) at New Bedford, last evening. Here peace has been spread over me, a most acceptable and timely "token for good."

Nantucket, 7th mo., 4th. Somewhat strange is the feeling of being on this island so often heard and read of, so entirely out of the way of my own things and people. Yesterday, we were favoured with a safe and agreeable voyage by steamer, to this place. Friends are still numerous here. Some interesting calls

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last evening, and a bird's-eye view of the town and island from a church steeple; the weather of the hottest. My mind has been mercifully favoured with tranquillity, though I do not feel matters to be altogether smooth or flowing. "The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear?"

7th mo., 7th. On fourth day, meeting for ministers and elders at Nantucket, some painful exercise in consequence of the state of things. The Quarterly Meeting large and interesting. R. Mott's ministry a great enjoyment to me, lively and Christian indeed! In the evening a large public meeting, and so relieving, that I was set quite at liberty (in tender mercy) for returning, yesterday morning, to New Bedford, by steamboat. We were favoured with a fine voyage. A precious concluding opportunity with R. Mott, at John Howland's last evening.

Joseph John Gurney continued for several weeks to be engaged in a course of religious labour in the state of Massachusetts. In allusion to the various opinions prevalent in New England, he remarks:—

The Unitarians chiefly consist of the more refined and educated classes. They appeared to me to form in Massachusetts an aristocratic caste, quite as much as a religious sect; as if it were inconsistent with the claims of polished intellect, and especially with the functions of public life, (to which many of them are devoted,) to be trammelled by what *they* regard as the superstitions of orthodoxy. As to Universalism, it may be described as a sort of heretical Methodism, in which an appeal is made, with no small measure of success, to a less cultivated part of the community. I have reason to believe that many low free-thinkers are embraced in this sect; and I fear that the leading tenet on which they are accustomed to dwell is spreading among the people. It is that the doctrine of eternal punishment forms no part of Christianity; that good and bad will all be ultimately saved. Thus the scriptural view of human responsibility is dangerously undermined, and the foundation of Christian morals

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shaken. Amongst too many the very notion of retributive justice in a world to come seems to be discarded, and the evil passions of human nature are let loose in proportion. The diffusion of this line of sentiment is one of the worst features of the present state of society in New England.

On some other topics also there has arisen, of late years, an uncontrolled wildness of sentiment; which, were it to prevail, would soon be found to be utterly inconsistent with the fundamental principles of civil, social, and domestic order. When male and female itinerant lecturers are heard declaring that women have, in all respects, the same civil and political rights and duties as the stronger sex—that no resistance ought to be made, even by peaceable legal proceedings, to the violence of the thief or the murderer—that no allegiance is due from the Christian to any civil government whatsoever— that children are at liberty to follow their own courses, and that it is unlawful for a parent to punish them—that wives and husbands may lawfully separate, when they are weary of each other's society—and that the agrarian law of olden times ought now to remodel the whole affair of property,—when all these anomalous ideas are let loose, each in its turn, on an imaginative public, one cannot but tremble in the view of the consequences. One is brought home more than ever to the conclusion, that "it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps;" that, unless he comes under the restraining influence of Christian principle, the imaginations of his heart will be only evil continually in the sight of God. * * *

In the houses which I visited in New England, I seldom met with any kind of fermented liquor; and it was evident that the practice of abstaining from all such beverages was increasingly prevalent throughout the more thoughtful part of the community. The air in those regions is so stimulating, that I found little difficulty in falling into the general practice; and cordially did I rejoice in the temperate habits which distinguish so large a proportion of the rising generation in America. But I confess I had no pleasure in observing the social cup of tea or coffee exchanged for the glass of cold water; and I was really grieved when I saw

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fine young people, of both sexes, undermining their constitutions, (as I believe,) by resolutely restricting their diet to vegetables. It seems to be one of the favourite devices of the great adversary of mankind, to accompany every virtue with its shadow in caricature; for the purpose, I suppose, of turning the virtue itself into ridicule, and of thus diminishing its legitimate influence.

From his Journal:—

Lynn, Massachusetts, 7th mo., 15th. [After noticing meetings at several places.] Yesterday an interesting journey to this place; stopped for a few hours at Boston, of which we had a magnificent view from the top of the state house. Another week's labour has been, through great mercy, comfortably accomplished. I trust my mind is grateful to the bountiful Author of all good, and especially for that measure of precious and holy quietness which is my portion this morning. O may the Lord condescend to permit its continuance!

Fourth day morning, 18th. I found myself bound to a family visit, [to Friends of Lynn and Salem,] and proposed it to Friends yesterday morning. It met with unanimous concurrence, and we have made a good beginning. Henry Hinsdale my acceptable companion in the work.

Salem, fifth day afternoon, 7th mo., 26th. I hope that, so far, the week has brought some blessings on its course. The family visiting continued satisfactorily on second and third days; and on third day evening we collected a numerous assemblage of young people and others, to whom I related anecdotes, leading them to the principles of Friends. It was a refreshing evening. Yesterday, the usual meeting for worship was public, and attended by Friends in a large body. It was a closely exercising, but open time; and I had to unfold the character and the danger of the divers and strange doctrines, religious, moral, and civil, which are afloat in America in the present day. I believe considerable impression was made.

7th mo., 30th. Yesterday, public meetings; here in the morning, and at Boston in the evening; the latter peculiarly

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exercising and fatiguing; but I am mercifully favoured with peace and quietness this morning, and have comfortable letters from home.

The following are some of his reflections on completing his fiftieth year:—

Amherst, New Hampshire, 8th mo., 2nd. H. Hinsdale and Samuel Boyce are with me on my way to Weare; and we are stopping at this sweet village for a public meeting this evening. I deeply feel the completion of my half century, only nine years younger than my loved father was when he died. Deep and numerous causes have I of humiliation in looking back on my past life. Satan has done much to perplex, grieve, and buffet me; and sore, beyond expression, have been the tribulations at times appointed; but the Lord has assuredly been very graciously with me, and has abundantly helped me by his good Spirit. I have been twenty-one years engaged in the ministry of the gospel, and all my works have been written within the last twenty years. I am permitted to look back on these labours of love with a considerable degree of satisfaction and peace; and I "trust I have a good conscience," as to not having intentionally baulked the cause of truth at any time, by not faithfully witnessing for Christ. The very perplexing transactions at Manchester, in regard to the Beacon, often bring me into thoughtfulness; but sure I am, that I did not knowingly let down the precious cause of truth at that time, on either side. I am aware that the seceders say and think hard things of me, but I could not sacrifice the doctrine of the immediate and perceptible guidance of the Spirit, as I think they have done, practically. That precious doctrine has since been abundantly confirmed to my feelings and experience; and truly in this land it has been my constant refuge. It is my quietly settled and deliberate desire and intention, to devote the remainder of my days, be it shorter or longer, to the service of my holy and ever-blessed Redeemer; fixing my eye singly on him, without undue reference, in any direction, to my fellow-men.

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The present separation from my son and daughter, so deeply, so truly loved, is a trial of faith and patience, such as has never before fallen to my lot. But my mind is at this time quiet, in the believing hope that they and their pilgrim father will be preserved, and that this trial will have a happy issue.

Thus the termination of my fiftieth year finds me calm, quiet in spirit, though in no small degree broken before the Lord. Notwithstanding the deep infirmities to which I am liable, I believe it is not too much to say, that through infinite mercy, I feel a peaceful assurance that the Lord will preserve me, give me the victory over all my spiritual enemies, guide me with his counsel, and afterwards receive me, yes, *even me*, to glory! Be it so, most gracious God and Father, I humbly entreat thee for Jesus Christ's sake.

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CHAPTER XXXII.

1838. ÆT. 51.

VISIT TO THE SEMINARY AT ANDOVER; CONVERSATION WITH MOSES STUART; ANTI-SLAVERY; YALE COLLEGE; PROFESSOR SILLIMAN; JOURNEY TO CANADA; CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE EARL OF DURHAM; ENGAGEMENTS IN LOWER CANADA; RETURN TO BALTIMORE YEARLY MEETING; VISIT TO FRIENDS AT NEW YORK; EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS AND JOURNAL.

On his way to Amherst, Joseph John Gurney paid a visit to the well-known Theological Seminary at Andover, where he enjoyed a few hours' conversation with the late Moses Stuart, some particulars of which he has preserved in the following letter

TO HIS SISTER CATHERINE GURNEY.

Amherst, New Hampshire, 8th mo., 2nd, 1838.

My dearest Catherine,

One sometimes arrives at a deep pause in life, as if its pulse stood still; and this is my experience this afternoon, at a neat country village, where I am stayed in my course, for a few hours, in order to hold a public meeting. It is an afternoon of bright sunshine without, (and sunshine in this country is doubly bright, from the transparency of the atmosphere,) and of solemn gravity within; not without a touch of happiness, on the accomplishment, this day, of half a century spent in this vale of tears. * * *

My last letter was forwarded on second day from Salem, a large town on the sea-coast of Massachusetts. I completed my

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family visit there on third day, and concluded with two successive meetings in the evening; the first, a familiar one in a Friend's house, with the young people, to whom I related anecdotes of our sister Fry, Wilberforce, Legh Richmond, and Daniel Wheeler, by way of illustrating the important consequences of *individual conversion to God.* Afterwards a public meeting was held, attended by a large and miscellaneous assembly, including the ministers of the various sects, and the intelligent aristocracy of the city. It was one of those *worth-while* meetings, which repay for a great deal of mental conflict. A full development of truth, addressed to both head and heart, was peculiarly wanted in the place, and was listened to with profound attention. The silence at the close of the meeting was remarkable. On fourth day morning I enjoyed a farewell swim in the sea-water, and afterwards visited the Museum, which contains a celebrated collection of East India and other tropical rarities, contributed by the merchants and sailors of the place; no person being admitted a member of the institution who has not sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, or Cape Horn. Warm affection had been excited towards me among the Friends of the place, some of whom are very pleasing and interesting, especially the Chase family, who had provided most kindly for my every want. Thus our parting was a good deal felt when I went off to Andover, the seat of a theological seminary, open to all Protestants. Here the celebrated professor, Moses Stuart, (who re-published my book on the Sabbath, with a preface and notes,) has for many years carried on his almost unrivalled Biblical researches. He is a man of sixty or upwards; of singular cordiality and simplicity of manners; and pours out his information in a most agreeable way. I held a meeting in the evening with the president, Dr. Edwards, the professors, and upwards of one hundred young men. It was to my feelings an unusually critical occasion; the discourse into which I found myself led being a mixture of science, literature, and religion; the subordination of the two former to the last being the subject before me. I was mercifully helped through the service, and the meeting ended in a very refreshing and

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impressive silence. Visits to the colleges or universities of America form an interesting part of my present engagement, and I had a decided view to them before I left England. I have now held meetings in three of them, and hope to find my way, in due season, to several others. With the single exception of Cambridge, near Boston, which is under Unitarian sway, they may be regarded as Christian and religious institutions. I had heard of neology in them before I came; but have not, as yet, found any trace of it. Nearly every tenth man educated at Andover becomes a missionary to the heathen.

I must now try to give some account of Moses Stuart's conversation, which I consider to be worth preserving, as a part of my journal. We were sitting together under the shade of some fine elms, in front of our hotel, he being a person with whom one feels immediately at ease. Knowing him to be deeply versed in German theological literature, I asked him whether neology was on the increase or decrease in Germany.

"Decidedly decreasing; and it is a curious circumstance, that the profound researches of their infidel critics have led to the development of many facts which confirm the evidences of the Divine authority of Scripture, and illustrate and establish an orthodox interpretation of its contents. Many valuable commentaries have lately been published by the industrious and learned Germans, which throw great light on Scripture, and in the right direction. To be sure, the Germans are prone to take an occasional flight into the air; and this is the case even with the soundest of their theologians. They plod through the mud with intense diligence; and then, by way of change, give wings to imaginative speculations. Their novels are the Arabian Nights' tales renewed, and their theology partakes of the same romance. The sternest fagging is a joyous thing with them. One of their great scholars, who, after the labour of twenty years, has produced the best of Greek Lexicons, observes at the end of his work, that he might be expected then to recur to the intense labours which he had undergone, the unrivalled tax on his patience, &c.; but all he could say with truth was, that while he was engaged in the com-

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position of his Lexicon, he had been swimming for twenty years in an ocean of pleasure."

What dost thou think of the Commentaries of Kuinoël and Rosenmüller on the New Testament, as books to be used by young men?

"Young men require the judicious care of a good tutor in the use of these books, although, as you know, the writers are essentially orthodox; but in giving instruction to my theological students, I make use of no reserves. I freely inform them of any neological objections to Scripture, and explain to them how they are met."

Dost thou not find that the sceptical doubt sometimes lays hold of the mind, instead of the answer to it?

"I find about one student in fifteen, who has five doubts to one reason; but on the whole, my method answers well. I am careful to do no harm."

What is thy opinion of Neander's Church History?

"He is a great writer: but not always perfectly sound in his views; for example he denies the validity of the Christian Sabbath. He unfolds his subjects with great exactness; my students call him, in joke, Dr. Entwickelung, Dr. Development."

Is Hebrew much studied in America?

"All the students at Andover study both the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Testament as a matter of course. As an evidence of the general attention paid to Hebrew by theological students in America, my Hebrew Grammar has gone through six editions. I have lately been engaged in a controversy with Dr. Norton, a Unitarian divine, who has published a very excellent book on the four Gospels, but pretends that the Gospel of Matthew was originally written in Hebrew, and that our Greek copy is only a translation. I consider this notion to be disproved by the Peshito Syriac version, the date of which may now be regarded as ascertained to be somewhat before the middle of the second century. I have lately compared it, word by word, with the Greek of the Gospel of Matthew; and the correspondence, even with respect to the smallest particles, is so perfect, as to afford a demonstration

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that it was the Greek, as we now have it, and not any supposed Hebrew copy, from which the translation was made. It was, therefore, the Greek, and not the Hebrew Matthew that was current in those primitive times."

What part of Scripture is now occupying thy attention?

"I am now lecturing on the Apocalypse; and, at the earnest request of my pupils, am intending to publish a work on the criticism of that book. The book interests and delights me more than I can express. Not that I have any taste for speculations on unfulfilled prophecy. ——— was here some time since, giving proofs, as he called them, from the Hebrew Scriptures, that the Jews would return in a body to re-possess the land of Canaan, and that Christ would come to reign over them in person, in the year 1860. Nothing could be more puerile and inconclusive than his arguments. I see nothing in Scripture to warrant the opinion that our Saviour will come again to reign personally upon the earth."

That surely is a Jewish notion?

"Yes, indeed it is. With respect to the Revelation, it has been said by persons who wish to disparage its claims to authenticity, that there are no books of that peculiar style which belong to the first century. The more I have examined this point, the more I have discovered the fallacy of the assertion. The Book of Enoch, the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Vision of Isaiah, with many others, are all of the same class in point of style and construction, and were all written in the first century; and yet they fall immeasurably below the Revelation in point of weight and excellence. There is nothing, in my opinion, that more clearly evinces the apostolic origin of the four Gospels, than the comparison of those writings with the spurious Gospels which followed them. So nothing can more clearly establish the authenticity and scriptural character of the Revelation, than a comparison of its contents with those of the unspeakably inferior productions of the same kind, which were circulated even in the first century. The apostolic date of the book is capable of being proved beyond the shadow of a doubt. The only question which

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can fairly be raised respecting it, is whether it was composed by John the apostle, or by *some other John;* but for my part, I have no idea that there was any John in the first century, except the apostle, who could have addressed the seven churches of Asia, as they are addressed in the Apocalypse."

Art thou acquainted with Dr. Mede's work on the Revelation?

"I have it by me; but I consider Mede, and *id genus omne*, essentially mistaken in the plan of their *exegesis*. They attempt to explain every successive conflict described in the book, as relating to some particular event in history; but I consider these descriptions *generic;* a succession of pictures, intended to represent that one great conflict between Christ and his enemies, which will finally result in the absolute triumph of the religion of Jesus. As a key to the exegesis of Revelation, I refer my students to the 18th Psalm, which David wrote in his old age, in commemoration of all his victories and deliverances. He probably won 100 battles. A tyro in sacred literature might interpret the lively picture presented to us in the Psalm, to be the representation of some particular battle, and might so interpret it; but the picture is generic, and equally relates to the ninety-nine others. The Apocalypse was written for the encouragement of the martyrs, and doubtless during some noted persecution. I believe during the persecution of Nero, which was before the siege of Jerusalem. The whole tendency of the book is to arm their courage, confirm their patience, and animate their hopes. It cheers them with a description of the happiness of their associates, who had already bled in the cause, and with a promise of a part in the first resurrection; and brings to view the final victory of their religion over the two great persecuting powers—the Jews, described under the name of spiritual Sodom—and the Romans, under that of Babylon."

Then has Babylon, after all, nothing to do with Popery?

"Yes, I think it includes Papal Rome, and her persecutors."

Is your theological seminary well endowed?

"It has been endowed by individuals to the extent of 400,000 dollars; but such institutions are springing up in other

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parts of the Union, and its operations are now confined chiefly to Massachusetts. We have sometimes 140 students."

Thou art a Congregationalist, I think; or, as we say in England, an Independent?

"Yes, but we have more of a regular church government than the Independents in England. We also send a deputy to represent us in the Synod of the Presbyterians, but merely as an act of brotherhood."

Now Professor, the carriage waits, I must leave thee.

"Well," said he, shaking hands warmly, "you know there is but one Lord, one faith, one baptism." The baptism of the Holy Ghost, I replied. "Yes, to be sure," he added, "I do not think much of any other;" and so we parted, in much love.

Having pursued his journey from Amherst, by way of Weare, to Concord, the capital of New Hampshire, where, besides a meeting for worship, he had an interview with the prisoners in the State Penitentiary, Joseph John Gurney returned into Massachusetts, holding large meetings on his way at the "busy manufacturing towns" of Nashua and Lowell, both on the Merrimac. In allusion to the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Lynn, which he subsequently attended, he writes in one of his letters:—

A lively discussion arose on a question by which the Friends of New England have been a good deal agitated, whether it was desirable that the members of our religious society, and especially the young people, should join the public anti-slavery associations of the day, or whether it was not preferable that Friends should pursue their own course of duty, in promoting the abolition of slavery, in their select capacity, as a distinct religious body. Several individuals eagerly advocated a union with the public associations, but the generality were in favour of the more prudential line of conduct in this respect. Stranger as I was, I took no part in the discussion, with which it did not appear to be my province to intermeddle; but I plainly saw that it was one of

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considerable difficulty and perplexity. On the one hand, I was fully prepared to admit the rectitude of the general principle of the union of Christians of all denominations in the pursuit of philanthropic objects which compromise the principles of none of them. On the other hand, it was impossible for me not to perceive that the public movement in this cause in New England, was intermingled with collateral points and circumstances dangerous to the character of the Christian and the Friend. I believed, therefore, that it was my duty to call upon all present, to seek after that depth and maturity of religious experience, and that humility, meekness, and forbearance, in which alone our most interesting concerns, whether public or private, can be rightly conducted. I also expressed on this, and on many other occasions, a heartfelt solicitude that the difficulties which impeded the union of many Friends in the public abolition movement, might not lead them into any coolness or indifference of feeling, on a subject respecting which the Society had so long borne a conspicuous Christian testimony; and that all might be watchful to perform their religious duty in reference to this vital topic; and move forward in this cause of justice and mercy, as the Lord and giver of truth might be pleased to guide them and open their way.

From Lynn Joseph John Gurney proceeded to Newhaven, in Connecticut; his principal object being a visit to the Students of the University in that place. This University, the largest in America, was founded in the year 1700, and has long maintained a high reputation. On his way he passed through Worcester in Massachusetts, where the Lunatic Asylum especially attracted his notice; an institution, he says, "in every way creditable to that State." It was night, at the close of the week when he and his companion arrived at Newhaven, 8th mo., 11th.

"Late as was the hour," he writes, "I called at the house of Dr. Jeremiah Day, the president of Yale College, with a letter of

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introduction from the Professor of Theology at Andover. The president had retired to rest, and his lady requested me, if I wished to make an arrangement with him, to call the next morning before the college prayers, which are at half-past five. Such are the early hours of the presidents and students of American colleges. Accordingly, at the appointed time I presented myself to the president in his college rooms, and told him of my wish to hold a meeting with the students in the evening. He is an elderly gentleman, of pleasing appearance and grave manners. I remembered that Connecticut had long been celebrated for a greater degree of puritanical strictness than any other state of the Union, and did not feel sure that the application was the more acceptable for coming from a minister of the Society of Friends. The Doctor, however, after a little consideration, allowed the meeting to be appointed, and proposed that it should be held in the 'theological chamber,' at eight o'clock in the evening. In the meantime we were closely engaged during the day; our own meeting being held in the morning with a few friends who met us from New York, in one of the chambers of the hotel, and the public being convened, at our request, at the Methodist meeting-house in the afternoon. In the course of the day we called on Professor Silliman, whose assistance we needed, with respect to some of our arrangements for the evening. He lives in a beautiful spot on the outskirts of the city, where he received us with great cordiality. He holds the first position amongst the men of science in America, and has all the appearance of strong sense and ready talent. I thought he would class well with the Jamiesons, Whewells, and Sedgwicks of Great Britain. He is greatly beloved and respected by the students, and happily unites the two characters of the philosopher and the Christian.

At the appointed hour we repaired, not without feelings of fear and diffidence, to the theological chamber at the college, which was soon nearly filled with young men who came flocking to the meeting. Their respectable president joined our company, which soon gathered into silence, and we were favoured with a time of great solemnity and refreshment. We were reminded of our

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Saviour's words, "One thing is needful." To lay hold of that one thing, to become possessed of the pearl of greatest price, seemed to be the desire of most, if not all present. At the conclusion of the meeting the students overflowed with kind feelings towards us; and if the president had appeared somewhat reserved in the morning, he did not now hesitate to express his cordial good-will. His government of the college, which contains upwards of 400 students, is said to be distinguished for ability and prudence, and he is greatly respected by the young community under his care.

Being desirous, if possible, of visiting Canada, taking the states of New Hampshire and Maine on the way, before the Yearly Meeting at Baltimore in the 11th month, Joseph John Gurney's stay in Connecticut was very short.

Seventh day, 8*th mo.*, 18*th*. [Last second day our] journey began at three o'clock in the morning, from Newhaven to Northampton; call on Lydia Sigourney; delightful drive by the Connecticut river; kind reception from Judge Dewey, at Northampton; lodged at his house. Next day, (third day) very interesting visit to Professor Hitchcock, and to the young men of Amherst college; and a pretty large public meeting at Northampton. Fourth day. Long journey by stage, railroad, &c., to Lynn, Massachusetts. Fifth day. Large and interesting Quarterly Meeting, in which I was much engaged on the true nature of charity. Yesterday we were employed, successfully, I hope, for the prevention of discord; and, in the evening, we held a peaceful public meeting at Nahant. We left Lynn before breakfast, for Salem, where we were favoured with a good religious opportunity with the Chase family circle, and others. My arduous service in those parts is now concluded, and I am permitted to enjoy the tranquil feeling of unclouded peace. What a rich and undeserved mercy!

I have now a long and varied journey before me, and scarcely know whither I may be led. I feel the deep obscurity of the future, but am in some degree enabled to lie quietly in the arms of infinite wisdom, strength, and mercy.

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After various engagements in New Hampshire and Maine, Joseph John Gurney set out from Augusta, in the latter State, on his way towards Canada, on the 22nd of the ninth month.

Our route, (says he, in one of his letters,) lay by the side of the beautiful Kennebeck, and the first day's journey was of fifty miles, to a picturesque village called Anson. Here the stage rested for the Sabbath—a circumstance very agreeable to ourselves, and an example which might be followed with great advantage in our own country. To us it was a day of peace and quietness. Several Friends came from a great distance to sit down with us in our morning worship. In the afternoon the public were assembled, and some romantic rocks over a tumbling stream afforded me, in the interim, a grateful opportunity for solitary reflection. At so great a distance from my home, and now about to enter on a new region, and on fresh scenes of interest and duty, I could not but feel my situation very seriously; and it was delightful to remember that no distance or difference of circumstance can divide the love and fellowship of those who are endeavouring, however weakly, to serve the Lord.

On the following morning we pursued our journey along the banks of the romantic river, and soon found our mail coach exchanged for an open waggon with two horses. The Kennebeck abounds in picturesque beauty, and is adorned with many neat little towns on its banks. On this day we passed through two of these places, Scouhegan and Norridgewolke, which seemed to be deriving a healthy state of prosperity from the convenience of the river, and the richness of the "intervale" through which it runs. In the evening we came to the forks of the Kennebeck—so called from its here uniting with the Dead river. At this spot is a small sequestered village in the midst of pine-clad hills; the scene as we approached it was lovely, being bathed in the light of the setting sun. There was no meeting-house in the place, but the people assembled at our request in the house of a pious

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Methodist; and religious refreshment and edification were permitted to crown the day.

The Christian brother at whose house the meeting was held, was our driver the next day in another open waggon, with two sprightly horses, to the Canada line. He was a man of a blithesome spirit, and his wild whistle was perfectly accordant with the scenes through which we were passing. It is scarcely possible to imagine a more complete wilderness, if this name may be properly applied to the true, native, unbroken forest. But of the beauty of that forest, what tongue can speak in adequate terms? So splendid a mixture of colours could not, I suppose, be found unless it be in the American western sky at sunset—every variety from the lightest to the darkest green, and from pale yellow to the rosiest crimson. This glorious scene continued for many miles; but was afterwards exchanged for vast ranges of pines, unintentionally laid waste by the fires of the settlers. The moose deer abound in these forests; and we were fed on the flesh of one at the house of a friendly settler, who gave us our dinner as we passed along; it being the custom of these persons to entertain travellers, and to receive a moderate payment for their provision. The moose flesh tastes exactly like beef except that it is more tender, and of a very fine grain. Another kind of deer, called the caraboo, is also found in these woods. The moose are caught chiefly in the winter, when their flight is impeded by the snow. Bears, beavers, musk rats, and racoons, are also inhabitants of this district. Large brown hawks were floating about here and there; the blue jays were sporting and displaying their beauty, regardless of our approach, and still more familiar were the long-tailed Canadian partridges, which were seen running near us through the woods. We took up our abode that evening about four miles short of the lines, in a comfortable log house belonging to an intelligent settler. He had cleared a considerable quantity of land in the midst of the wild forest; and the neatness, both of his abode and his family, did him high credit. His sturdy sons were good readers; and I shall not easily forget the extreme eagerness with which one of these young men devoured a little

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volume of natural philosophy, which I happened to have among my stores.

Having arrived at Quebec, he writes:—

9th mo., 29th. The journey, from Anson to this place, was one which I shall not soon forget; some difficulties in it; but all well surmounted by time and patience. We crossed the noble St. Lawrence before breakfast on sixth day, and have since passed two days of no small interest. Pleasant acquaintance formed with Dr. Cook, of the Presbyterian Church; and a meeting held last evening in the Methodist House, which was a very good one. To-day, breakfasted with Dr. Cook, and visited the Jail; the men and women prisoners (far too numerous, and not at all classified) were separately addressed, and appeared attentive.

Canada was then in a very disturbed state, and Joseph John Gurney believed it his duty to seek an interview with the late Earl of Durham, at that time the Governor General, with whom he had a slight previous acquaintance; in the hope of inducing him, if possible, to remain in a position in which his great talents and enlightened views were likely to be eminently serviceable at this critical juncture.

He received me with much kindness, and I afterwards dined and spent the evening with him, his Lady, and family. I had a great deal of conversation with him of a highly interesting character, and was much struck with his extensive information and superior talents. Though I had no reason to suppose that he agreed with me in my view of the paramount importance of evangelical religion, it was evident that he was a person of conscientious feeling, impressed with a lively sense of a superintending providence; and full of good designs for the intellectual and civil improvement of the people under his care. His government was steady, calm and peaceable; and, as I have every reason to believe, impartial. Certainly he was called to

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rule in troublous times; for nothing then could be more uneasy than the juxtaposition of the two races which composed the population of Lower Canada. Lord Durham was utterly opposed to the shedding of blood, by the hand either of the soldier or of the executioner. He had put a stop to capital punishments in Upper Canada; and, above all, he was daily manifesting to the citizens of the United States, that liberal and kindly feeling, and that just appreciation of their character and circumstances, which greatly tended to the removal of misunderstandings, and to the insuring of permanent peace between the two nations. Nothing could appear more ill-timed than the differences which had just taken place between himself and the British Parliament. He seemed to be extremely chagrined; and not less mortified and disappointed were many enlightened members of the community under his care, of both parties. I believed it right to devote several hours to the object of laying before him, in writing, the reasons why I thought he ought to refrain from giving up his government.

TO THE EARL OF DURHAM.

Quebec, 9th mo., 30th, 1838.

Secluded as I am from the politics of the world, and engaged in this country on a simple religious errand, I cannot with a safe conscience quit this city, (which I expect to do to-night,) without throwing before thee a few considerations on the point which so closely occupies the public mind here at the present time.

I am strongly convinced that thy retirement from these provinces is likely to be productive of two results—the prevention of great good; and the infliction of greater evil.

From the conversation which has passed between us, I conclude that the improvement of the prisons, the building of hospitals, the suppression of vice by a good police, and the general education of the people, are all of them objects which occupy thy attention; and to these must be added the far larger points of the softening down of dangerous asperities in the colony, and the strengthening of good feeling between our country and the United States of America; services in which thou hast been already so successful.

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With regard to the infliction of evil the giving up of thy government appears to me to have a strong *tendency* to the renewal of discord, and possibly of open hostilities; and who shall say that in the back-ground may not lie one of the worst political calamities which could befall the civilized world, war between Great Britain and the United States of America?

Wilt thou kindly excuse my freedom, when I remark that no personal considerations, or views of etiquette, however fortified they may be by custom, seem to be sufficient to justify a course which may probably lead to such results? I know that thou wilt feel that downright *duty* alone can justify it.

* * * * * *

I am quite sure that the question of moral responsibility in this great affair, must press with vast weight on thy highly conscientious mind, and I trust I do not exceed the bounds of propriety, when I venture to suggest the inquiry, whether, notwithstanding all provocation, the responsibility of his secession, and of its probable consequences, must not be still regarded as resting mainly on the Governor General himself? May the Almighty be pleased to guide thee to such a final decision in the present emergency, as will best promote thy own peace of mind, and the welfare of these provinces! Heartily do I unite in the desire, that an even-handed, bloodless, and efficacious government, may not give place to a merely military rule, and to its various distressing consequences.

With great respect and regard,

I am, thy sincere friend,

J. J. GURNEY.

FROM THE EARL OF DURHAM.

Government House, Monday, Oct. 1st, 1838.

DEAR SIR,

Accept my warmest thanks for your kind letter. I can well appreciate the excellent motives which dictated it. Rest assured that if I saw within my reach any means here of doing good, no personal feelings would induce me to quit this

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country. But I am sure that the place where alone evil can be prevented and good effected, is the British Parliament.

In Canada all civil authority is nullified; and I cannot reconcile it to my conscience to govern by military power alone.

Believe me, yours very truly,

DURHAM.

Lord Durham, as is well known, retired from the government of Canada, and returned to England. Subsequent events confirmed Joseph John Gurney in his views as to this step. "I thought I perceived many evidences," he writes, in allusion to it, at a later period, "that the publication of his manly and able report was premature."

From Quebec, he now proceeded up the St. Lawrence to Montreal, with the view of obtaining a convenient passage to Farnham, one of the eastern townships of Lower Canada, where he had been informed that the Monthly Meeting of Friends in that district was about to be held. On his arrival at Montreal, however, he found that the meeting in question was to assemble at Ferresburg, in the State of Vermont.

There was no time to be lost, and at an hour's notice we were again on our journey. We first availed ourselves of the only railroad in Canada, in order to traverse a flat wooded country to St. John's, a considerable town on the Richelieu river. Here we took the daily American steam-boat, and soon found ourselves on the noble expanse of Lake Champlain. Our voyage was delightful. There are many richly wooded islands on the bosom of this water, and the distant mountains of the state of New York, on the western shore, and of Vermont on the eastern, give a Welsh character to the picture. We arrived at Burlington, in Vermont, at nine o'clock in the evening. The next morning we drove sixteen miles to Ferresburg, attended the Monthly Meeting, and were afterwards entertained at the dwelling of two aged Friends

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of a very primitive character, the father and mother of many sons and daughters. We spent two more days in attending some other meetings in the neighbourhood, and, at the close of the week, returned to Burlington.

This city is the seat of the State University. Here we spent the first day of the week much to our satisfaction. Several Friends from the country joined us in our quiet morning worship at the hotel. In the afternoon a public meeting was held at a neighbouring manufacturing village by the falls of the Wollooski; and in the evening a much larger one in the Methodist meeting-house in Burlington. We drank tea with Dr. Wheeler, the president of the college, who has travelled much in Europe, and is remarkably well informed. Professor Marsh, the teacher of Moral Philosophy, was also of the company, and spoke in high terms of our late friend Jonathan Dymond's book on Ethics, which I was glad to find in great repute in the seminaries in America. The Americans are not suited by Paley's notions of expediency. * * *

Being still desirous of seeing the Friends in the eastern townships of Lower Canada, Joseph John Gurney again directed his course northwards.

St. John's, 10th mo., 11th. Our visit to Farnham yesterday was remarkably favoured and satisfactory, and seemed to afford ample repayment for the exertion of getting there. We were cordially received by the very interesting community of Friends; the meeting was largely attended by them and their neighbours, and was a time of much solemnity. After the meeting, Henry Miles introduced the subject of an address to Lord Durham, which was very cordially agreed to and generally signed. In the afternoon, I held another meeting with Friends, in which I had to encourage them warmly, in the faithful maintenance of their testimonies and religious standing; which may probably be put to the proof. I sat down yesterday morning with many Friends, in order to discuss the difficulties to which they are exposed, from the disturbed state of the province. The meeting was satisfactory.

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We then proceeded about twenty miles to Bedford, where we held an excellent public meeting in the evening. Twenty miles more of travelling have brought us hither; where I have been quietly engaged in writing the necessary letters introducing our friends to the authorities of Quebec; and we have appointed a meeting for the evening.

Montreal, First day, 10th mo., 14th. Notwithstanding discouragements, we had a pretty large and very relieving meeting on fifth day evening, at St. John's; several soldiers being present; and a pleasant journey hither on sixth day morning. Our Friends went off by a boat to Quebec, on their mission to the Governor. I made several calls, and held a good, though very small meeting in the Wesleyan house, in the dark, wet evening. On seventh day, I was much occupied and exercised, in again writing to the Governor General.

Joseph John Gurney now proceeded by a somewhat rapid course to Baltimore.

10th mo., 15th. The meeting yesterday morning, at Montreal, was greatly to my relief. In the afternoon, we were occupied by an affecting visit to the wretched prison; an interview with thirty-three good-looking soldiers, sentenced to transportation for desertion, was to our satisfaction. Then a visit to Thaddeus Osgood's Bethel for seamen and first-day school, where a solemn little meeting was also held; and in the evening, a very favoured meeting in the Congregational house; so that I trust a blessing rested on the day. I am now on my way again up the lake Champlain, with a view of holding meetings at Peru, and afterwards proceeding towards Baltimore Yearly Meeting. It is a rainy and gloomy day; but I am favoured with a degree of tranquillity, in committing myself and my concerns to the Lord, who knows that it is my desire, weak and unworthy though I be, not to run counter to the gracious intimations of his blessed will. O Lord, cast me not away from thy presence, I beseech thee, and take not thy Holy Spirit from me! Let me be clear of the blood of all men; "Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O Lord, thou

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God of my salvation; and my tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness."

11th mo., *11th*. The Yearly Meeting of Baltimore began and progressed favourably. We had an excellent time over the state of the Society; and, on the whole, though the body was small,—not larger than many Monthly Meetings,—there was much of the weight of a Yearly Meeting in it. The meeting for worship on fifth day was a good one; and the conclusion, on sixth day morning, very solemn. John Meader held a good meeting one evening with the coloured people; and I had to instruct some large circles of the young; a service in which I was graciously helped.

After attending the Yearly Meeting at Baltimore, Joseph John Gurney was closely engaged for several weeks, in various religious services, in Maryland and the adjacent parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania. He then returned to New York; and, with the concurrence of Friends there, entered upon a visit to the families of Friends in that city and its neighbourhood, in which he was diligently occupied to the conclusion of the year.

TO HIS DAUGHTER.

New York, 12th mo., 11th, 1838.

MY DEAREST ANNA,

I have a mind to write thee a few private lines, being much drawn forth in ardent paternal love towards thee, and feeling the lengthening chain that separates us not very easy to my natural mind. But let us be of good cheer; the time of absence is gradually lessening, and if we each keep to our line of duty in the tenderness, meekness, and patience of Christ, we shall, I reverently hope and believe, be permitted, in due season, to meet again in peace and joy. I feel an anxious solicitude that nothing may move thee from the quiet, unobtrusive path of consistent Friendliness. I believe thy principles in these matters are fixed and settled; but I like to give thee a word

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of encouragement to persevere. I own I am sometimes fearful lest thy association with some who are pursuing a less restricted course, should in the least rub off the tender bloom of retiring piety; that piety which leads thee at times to sit alone and keep silence, bearing the yoke upon thee; yea, "to put thy mouth in the dust, if so be, there may be hope." Be very watchful, my dear child, as if thou wast in thy father's presence. Remember that the eye of the God and Father whom *he* desires to serve is always upon thee. Dwell very low before the Lord; shun self-complacency as thou wouldst a serpent. Indeed, my darling, my feelings are not sectarian, but I do see that the quiet, self-denying path which I wish thee to continue to walk in, is a safe one for the immortal soul. It is a path that I am myself constrained to walk in, by principles of the highest and most comprehensive nature; and, whilst I yield myself up to these principles, my heart glows with love towards the whole Church of Christ, and the whole family of man. I know it is a humbling thing to be a plain Friend, but I wish thee to bear this humiliation. The Lord will reward thee for it. "Be faithful unto death, and a crown of life shall be given thee."

TO HIS BROTHER SAMUEL GURNEY.

New York, 12th mo., 19th, 1838.

* * * The prevalence of a worldly spirit, and of the love of money in this city, and the opportunity which has been afresh given me of observing how these things dry up the very sap of life, and also how sure they are to increase as money accumulates; *i. e.*, as the only possible excuse for them *decreases*, make me feel deeply anxious, my dearest brother, that thou and I, and our dear children, may be taught of the Lord to continue, or yet more to abound, in *diffusing* in proportion to our means. It is an absolutely needful safety-valve for us in a spiritual point of view. Of this I am increasingly persuaded; and yet I know it must all be in the ordering of best wisdom, under the government of Him for whom we are stewards.

* * * I was much grieved at the failure of my appeal to

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Lord Durham, though I believe it cost him two days' reflection. His leaving the province was, in my opinion, a very unhappy circumstance; and I am extremely afraid lest the military penal executions which are now going on in Canada should bring upon our people there a terrible retribution. It is a foolish game to arouse the sympathies of the United States in favour of the rebels, and most heartily do I crave that general warfare may not be the ultimate result.

The warm and affectionate letter, from which the following is an extract, was addressed to the grandchildren of his aunt Jane Gurney, on the anniversary of the decease of his beloved uncle Joseph Gurney. After tracing some of the more striking features of his uncle's character, he continues:—

New York, 12th mo., 25th, 1838.

* * * I am now fifty years old, and have seen a good deal of the world,—my acquaintance with the religious public, and with serious persons of various names and classes, has been extensive,—and it is my testimony that I have not seen a better way to walk in, than that into which *he* was led. I mean simple, sincere, *living quakerism*. I think it is under no sectarian feelings that I find myself penning that word *quakerism*. I have reference chiefly to the well-known views always entertained by our Society, respecting the supreme, immediate, and perceptible government of Jesus Christ over his church, *by the influence of his Holy Spirit*. I wish you to understand in what sense I use the word "*perceptible*." The distinct whisper of some private counsellor is perceptible to the ear; but not more so than the still, small voice of the Spirit of Christ in the heart, saying to every one of you "This is the way, walk ye in it." The light of the sun, which reveals the objects of nature, is perceptible to the eye; but not more so than the light of Christ, which makes manifest moral truth to the consciences of all men, and which shines on all those *particular duties* to which we are individually called, as living members of the Church of God. Thus, with me the light

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has shone on a religious visit to America; and on many a specific labour and service in that land. The gentle breeze which blows from the south is perceptible to the feelings; but not more so than the gentle constraint of a divine influence which impels the Christian *onward* in his race of duty. When every wind ceases to blow, the very stillness is perceptible to the nerves of the body; but not more so than the holy tranquillity of soul which the Spirit imparts to the man of a good conscience—"the peace of God which passeth all understanding."

Now, my dearly beloved ones, abide and walk under this all-effective government of a righteous Saviour. Let every desire that would lead to transgression be checked; every rebel thought subdued; every undue conformity to the world and its vanities surrendered; and be ye *all* that the Lord would have you to be. Imitate the example of Moses, and make all things according to the pattern showed you in the mount, even to the least pin of the tabernacle. This is the true secret of Christian perfection; a standard hard to reach, but always to be followed. "Know ye not that your bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God, and that ye are not your own, but bought *with a price*." Oh, that costly, glorious price; the atoning blood of Jesus Christ, the one propitiatory offering for the sins of the whole world! Meditate on the infinite lovingkindness of that Saviour who came down from the glory of his Majesty, to live and die for sinners—who bore your sins in his own body on the tree; and lose not an hour, you dear elder ones, in devoting yourselves, body and soul, to his service.

And now a few sentences on the word *immediate*. Friends hold the immediate influences of the Spirit in contrast with those who, while they allow the inspiration of the sacred writers, imagine that their writings are the *only* guide with which we are now favoured in the way of truth and righteousness. "The Scriptures," say such persons, "were given forth by the Spirit of God; all therefore, who believe and obey the Scriptures, are, *through that medium*, taught by the Spirit." We, on the other hand, assert that no man can savingly believe in the truth declared

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in Scripture, or truly obey its precepts, unless his understanding is illuminated, and his heart touched by the *immediate* or *direct* influences of that Spirit, who is himself the divine author of the book; and further than this, while we expect no revelation of the peculiar *facts and doctrines* of Christianity, except through Scripture, we believe that the *moral law* is, to a certain extent, immediately revealed to all men, *independently of the book;* and also that, with respect to their individual callings in the church, Christians cannot ascertain them from Scripture. Here they have no other guide to look to, but the voice of the Spirit of Christ, who condescends to speak *immediately* to his people, and to show them what are the services into which he is pleased to call them. May you, beloved ones, ever be attentive to his immediate teachings; they will guide you in the way of truth and righteousness, virtue and peace. From these remarks it is evident that there is nothing in the view taken by Friends, of the immediate influences of the Spirit, (a view which is, I believe, increasingly opening on sound Christians of every name,) which has the least tendency to discourage a diligent use of those *means* which God has appointed for our edification and growth in grace. Do not neglect these means, as you value your immortal souls! Be fervent and instant in *prayer;* seek after retirement; reverently wait upon God; pour forth your hearts before him. He is a prayer-hearing, prayer-answering God. Never pass a day without reading a portion of Scripture in *private;* "meditate on these things;" give yourselves "wholly to them." Be faithful and diligent in attending all your meetings, both for worship and discipline. Your pilgrim cousin charges you, in the name of his Master, *never* to *subside* into carelessness in these matters. Let him more especially advise you to be regular in the attendance of your *week-day meetings.* I believe I could say with truth, that the most profitable and happiest part of my life has been spent in these very meetings. It is both good and pleasant to retire from the whirl and hum of a money-getting, pleasure-hunting world, to wait upon our glorious Creator, in the "silence of all flesh." How many were the happy hours which I spent with your beloved

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grandfather after this sort! How many the calm and cheerful walks which we afterwards took together from the meeting to the bank! Well, my dears, to conclude this long, and to me, unexpected appeal, be strong in the Lord; persevere; press onwards in the path of self-denial, in the race of holiness; give up all for Christ; be faithful unto death; and no man shall take your crown. Bear, however, a short postscript on the subject of plainness of speech, behaviour, and apparel. Your grandfather adopted these things under deep convictions of duty. He knew they were *right;* he found that they *worked well;* he adhered to them faithfully to his life's end. Will you not follow his example? If you will, of one thing I am assured, that you will never have occasion to regret your decision, either in this world, or in the world to come.

* * * * * * *

I must conclude with a message of dear, faithful, and tender love to your parents, and above all to your revered grandmother. May they have the delight of seeing you walking in the truth!

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

1839. ÆT. 51—52.

CONCLUSION OF LABOURS AT NEW YORK; ILLNESS AT FLUSHING; PAMPHLET ON SLAVERY; SECOND ATTENDANCE OF YEARLY MEETINGS AT PHILADELPHIA AND NEW YORK; LABOURS IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK; AND IN UPPER CANADA; SING SING PRISON; FENIMORE COOPER; TONEWANTA INDIANS; BALTIMORE YEARLY MEETING; PROSPECT OF VISIT TO WEST INDIES.

DURING Joseph John Gurney's stay at New York, he formed an acquaintance with several interesting characters.

"I called one morning," he writes, "on W. C. Bryant, the first of American poets. He bears about him the expression of acute intellectual power, and somewhat reminded me of Southey. I was pleased to converse with him about his brethren in the art, the living poets of our own country. One point may be stated greatly to the credit of this man of genius—he is a consistent and unflinching advocate of emancipation. Another leisure evening was agreeably spent at the house of Colonel Stone, who is well known for his extensive literary acquirements. He is a person of ready wit, and, what is far better, of serious religious principle. At his house I met Dr. Spring, the minister of a large Presbyterian congregation. I was also glad to renew an acquaintance with Dr. Milnor, who is indefatigable in his support of the Bible and Tract Societies, and other similar institutions. I was much interested by visiting the office and warehouses of the American Bible Society. The business of that institution is there conducted

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on a large scale; and although I had no opportunity of attending its public meetings, I was rejoiced to hear of its continued activity and prosperity. It surely is a work of which no man can deny either the propriety or the importance.

"The state of New York," he remarks in another letter, "is divided into upwards of 10,000 educational districts, in which more than 500,000 young persons receive an elementary education free of expense, being at school, on an average, for eight months during the year. These schools are supported, partly by the funds of the state, and partly by local rates. They probably form, as a whole, the most generalized machinery for popular education to be met with in any country in the world. There is one point connected with these schools, in which a large proportion of them differ from the British schools in England. It is that neither the Scriptures themselves, nor extracts from them are used as daily reading lessons.* This I consider a lamentable defect, and one which can scarcely fail to be injurious in its consequences. Happily the exception does not apply to the schools in New York itself, which are ably superintended by a committee of gentlemen, and are conducted, as all such schools ought to be, on the basis of Scripture.

"The friends of education in this city were much indebted to the late Joseph Lancaster, whose plan they adopted, and who, personally, very materially assisted them in the formation of their schools. I often saw him while I was in America, and much regretted that his want of care and prudence was so constantly involving him in difficulties. In the Autumn of 1838, he was repeatedly heard to say, that his work was finished, that he had now nothing left him to do but *to die*. Soon afterwards he was knocked down, in the streets of New York, by a runaway horse in a waggon, and died in a few days. Notwithstanding all his infirmities, there is reason to believe, that, through the mercy of that divine Saviour in whom he trusted, his end was peace.

* Some alteration, it is believed, has taken place in this respect, since Joseph John Gurney's visit.

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"During the whole of my stay in America, New York, in a commercial point of view, was in a state of considerable depression. The enormous losses occasioned by the great fire, in 1835, were by no means fully recovered; and, since that event, frequent conflagrations to a less terrible extent, have taken place in the city. But the main cause of suffering was the unequalled course of speculation and gambling, which disgraced the mercantile annals both of England and America, in the years 1836 and 1837. The amount of accommodation paper which was then in circulation between the two countries, probably formed a larger bubble of that nature, than the world had ever before seen; and when it burst, in the spring of 1837, the desolation which it produced, in New York particularly, was extensive and overwhelming. One indication of the altered state of things, was afforded by the comparative prices of land in the immediate neighbourhood of the city. During the flood-tide of prosperity, large lots were purchased at Brooklyn, on the opposite side of the river, and in other places near the city, in order to be laid out for houses and streets. Enormous prices were given; in many instances 2000 dollars for an acre. But when the delusion was dissipated, the speculators in land were in distress, and it was found impossible to sell the subdivisions, from which vast profits had been expected, without incurring a formidable loss. * * *

"Speaking of the towns of America, I cannot think that the population derive any substantial advantage from the multiplication of their daily newspapers. Scarcely a village is to be found, of any considerable size, in which one of these periodicals is not published, whilst in the larger towns and cities, they are very numerous. I often regretted that so much time is occupied by American citizens in poring over these often flimsy productions. This practice, together with that of reading novels, which are published in great numbers and at a very low price, has a material tendency to lower the tone both of intellect and of moral feeling. In making these remarks, I do not forget that newspapers, well conducted, and in moderate numbers, are of essential service to the community."

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Soon after completing his visits to the families of Friends in New York, Joseph John Gurney, in consequence of exposure to cold and wet, was seized with a violent attack of illness, which prevented him from pursuing his labours for a period of nearly three months. During the greater part of this confinement he was hospitably cared for at the house of his valued friend Joshua Kimber, at Flushing, in Long Island. "It was a time," he writes, "of suffering from bodily indisposition, but there was much in it both to instruct and to enjoy. The Friends under whose roof I was are the parents of an interesting family; and both they and their children were ever ready to minister to my comfort."

Writing to his children, in the early part of his illness, (under date 1st mo., 16th,) evidently under a feeling of some uncertainty as to the result, after sending warm messages of love to his numerous friends, and expressing his earnest desires respecting themselves, he thus concludes:—

Above all things, my most beloved children, keep in mind your stewardship; that giving yourselves freely up to the softening, melting power of divine grace, and suffering it to work in you, and through you, as it will, you may neither of you miss of the glorious "well done" at last! Be sure to be faithful Friends; persevering workers in the Bible Society; and circumspect, living, liberal members of the universal church of Christ.

The following are from his Journal:—

1st mo., 20th. My mind has been generally preserved in a state of quietness, not without a little lively faith that the Lord will bring me through this illness. "I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord." The experience of this sickness has brought sweetly home the reality of the truth, as held by Friends, and has been much to the confirmation of my faith. To take a fresh look at death, and to find that my Saviour is above its terrors, is a great benefit.

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2nd mo., 1st. Beginning the new month still in confinement has been rather discouraging to my natural feelings. Last evening very sweet was the calm spread over me; and a prayer from dear E. Coggeshall, who is now paying us an acceptable visit, was most precious. "Why art thou cast down, O my soul, and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God; for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance and my God."

First day afternoon, 2nd mo., 10th. I have been most mercifully dealt with, and I desire to be enabled to make some record of the gracious dealings of my Lord with me; wholly unworthy as I am of the very least of his mercies. It was, I believe, in a measure of the obedience of faith, that I left my all to come into this country; and, perhaps, since I left home my faith has never been put to a closer test than during this illness; but there is that which is in us which we have of God, that does, at times, arise into a degree of blessed predominance over all our fears and temptations. May I be gathered to this holy power and influence more and more!

Fifth day morning. I have been attending our little week-day meeting this morning; a very precious time, wherein a concern was expressed that we might be gathered to the Lord's own washing, and feeding, and teaching; and I believe I am, through mercy, unhurt by this effort.

2nd mo., 19th. [At Westbury, Long Island.] I have been favoured with a night of enjoyable repose, and greatly feel the benefit of change of air. A precious time after the reading this morning. Surely the Lord condescends to be with us here, and praise is most abundantly his due. I am living a day at a time, more than ever before perhaps.

Evening.—Pleasant visit to Jericho; passed by the house once occupied by Elias Hicks. Visits to Thomas and Phebe Willis, and their daughter Anna; and in the afternoon, two or three hours at William and Anna W. Willis's. Bodily infirmity is prevalent with these Friends, but they are of the right kind indeed. We had comforting opportunities of a religious nature in each house, and here again this evening with Stephen and

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Phebe Rushmore. Thus the Lord is bestowing freely of his goodness upon us out of an inexhaustible treasury.

After visiting the few families of Friends at Westbury and Jericho, he writes:—

Seventh day, 3*rd mo.*, 16*th*. We have been graciously favoured to get along comfortably with our work, though, on my part, through much fear and weakness, and some close trial of faith. All the families well got through, and a remarkable meeting with a large company of Hicksites and others, at Jerusalem, yesterday. Some of them hard and restless; but I trust truth was over all opposition.

3*rd mo.*, 19*th*. Deep and various are the exercises of mind which I have gone through since last seventh day. The afternoon meeting on first day, held at Jericho, in the Hicksite meeting-house, large, and attended by the Hicksites in a body. It was a very exercising and critical occasion; the first Friends' meeting there since the separation; and there, in the place once occupied by Elias Hicks, I was enabled to proclaim the glorious *contrary* to all his notions. I have seldom felt more helped, and there was evidently a considerably open door. We spent a highly satisfactory evening afterwards with William and Anna Willis.

During Joseph John Gurney's convalescence he had been occupied in writing a few Free and Friendly Remarks on a Speech lately delivered in the Senate of the United States, by Henry Clay, of Kentucky, on the subject of the Abolition of North American Slavery. In this little tract, after dwelling upon the startling fact, admitted by Henry Clay, that there were in the United States three millions of intelligent and immortal beings condemned by law, without a crime proved or even alleged against them, to an ignominious and perpetual "servitude," all the more embittered and agonizing by being "involuntary;" and liable to be bought and sold "like sheep, pigs, and oxen,"

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he briefly but powerfully exposes the monstrous inconsistency between such a fact and the theory on which the independence of the United States is founded, that "all men," (without distinction of colour,) "are created equal; and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights;" among which "are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." He then proceeds, in a strain of clear and unanswerable argument, to show that the abolition, by the federal government, of slavery in the districts of Columbia and of Florida, and of the internal slave-trade throughout the Union, would be in perfect accordance both with the letter and the spirit of the constitution of the United States; and, in conclusion, powerfully urges the claims of righteousness, mercy, and truth, as loudly calling for the adoption of these measures. The whole spirit of the tract is calm and Christian; and though published anonymously, was too characteristic of the mind of the author to admit of his being long concealed. "And so you are a writer too," said Henry Clay, addressing Joseph John Gurney, when they met at Washington in the following year, "I read your pamphlet, and discovered the author immediately. Of the various reviews of my speech upon Slavery, including Channing's, I consider yours the best." It was read extensively, and its conciliatory tone obtained for it a wide circulation even amongst the slaveholders in the southern states.* Referring to its publication, he writes in his Journal:—

3rd mo., 25th. I have been this afternoon brought fervently to desire, that if this extra service of mine be not of the Lord, it may be stayed in its course; but if of the Lord, that it may go forward; and in the latter view I am again permitted to feel

* It will be found reprinted in the Appendix to J. J. Gurney's Winter in the West Indies, pp. 253—282.

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peace. O, I would not break or lose the golden thread which can alone bring me safely through this labyrinth of tears, for all the fame, the honour, the riches, the adulation of this fallen world. Lord, suffer me, I most ardently beseech thee, to have my portion (deeply unworthy as I am) in the language, "We have the mind of Christ." Having that mind, and being sure of it, I think I could bear the consequences. Lord, give me more faith, more conquering faith in thy own eternal wisdom and power!

In the fourth month of this year Joseph John Gurney again attended the Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia.

4th mo., 22nd. I have many mercies to record in the recollection of the last ten days. The meeting of ministers and elders on seventh day, the 13th, passed off quietly. On second day the Yearly Meeting commenced; long, acceptable silence; equally acceptable prayer from Daniel Wheeler. The meeting for worship at Arch street on fifth day, much favoured; Elizabeth Robson more powerful in testimony than I ever before heard her; and "anointing" in prayer was afterwards as graciously given me. On sixth day Daniel Wheeler was very acceptably engaged in ministry.

Just as the Yearly Meeting was closing that evening, I rose and said; "In the fear of the Lord, and in ardent love to all now assembled, I feel constrained to express my conviction, that the noble testimony always borne by this Society to the universal and independent influence of the Spirit of God upon the minds of men, and to the primary character of this influence as the very spring of all true knowledge of divine things, will never perish or fade away from among the children of men; and I have the same conviction respecting the immediate teaching, guidance, and government of Jesus Christ, by the Holy Spirit, in the church; which I regard as the root of all those practical testimonies, respecting worship and conduct, into which our forefathers were led. May we maintain these views and testimonies with one mind and one accord, remembering that they are in perfect accordance with the corresponding doctrines of the full divine authority of the Holy

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Scriptures, and of the propitiatory sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the sole ground of our hope of acceptance with God, and of everlasting salvation! May we, by the intelligible language of a devoted and consistent life and conversation, show forth our adherence to the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as it is in Jesus!" The meeting closed in much solemnity.

Whilst thus engaged in a distant land, Joseph John Gurney was cheered by receiving the following encouraging account of the beneficial effect, under the Divine blessing, of some of his earlier labours.

FROM ROBERT HANKINSON.

Hampstead, April 4th, 1839.

* * * Some months ago I called on a lady with whom I had a slight acquaintance, and whose inquiring state of mind had previously interested me. I found her very anxious about a near relative, who was in a declining state of health. His religious views were unsatisfactory, and it was evident, from her account, that he had drunk deeply of the poison of Socinianism. When I went home, I put a copy of your Letter to a Friend on the Authority, Purpose, and Effects of Christianity, as published by the Religious Tract Society, within the volume of your Essays, and sent them to her. About a fortnight ago they were returned with a short note, and I have since called on her. Striking, indeed, was her report. After earnest prayer she went with the books to her father's bedroom, not knowing in what way to introduce them, nor how far they were suited to the turn of his mind. She determined therefore, if possible, to induce him to disclose to her his religious sentiments; and, after much urgent pressing, he told her that many years ago he had been in the habit of associating with the party to whom your letter was addressed, and some others who lived in ———, and that from them he had taken his religious opinions. He had not wished that they should bias his family, and therefore had refrained from communicating

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with them on the subject, but he was one who did not believe in the Divinity of Christ. The opportunity had come; his daughter told him that she had, in the room with her, a letter which had been addressed to his friend, and which had been the means of inducing him to change his opinion. He was incredulous about it, but said he should like to hear it. She began to read, and, with growing interest, he listened. The letter was read again and again, and again; and from it they went to the Essays, reading those portions that particularly interested him; and so was it all over-ruled and blessed, that it ended in his complete acknowledgment of the Saviour. The day before his death, when his family were around him, he said spontaneously, "I wish to make this acknowledgment to you; I feel myself to be a miserable sinner, but my entire trust is in Christ my Saviour." May we not, my dear friend, be thankful for such a testimony, and may we not humbly believe that in his eighty-fifth year he was turned from his error, and is a monument of the all-saving power of Christ! It will not be less interesting to you to know that this individual was the late Sir ———.

The interval between the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia, and that of New York at the close of the fifth month, was occupied by Joseph John Gurney in various religious engagements, in the State of New York, principally in West Chester, Dutchess, Putnam, and Columbia Counties, on the East of the Hudson, and in Ulster and Orange Counties, on the Western side of that river. At Nine Partners, in Dutchess County, he visited the public boarding school, under the care of New York Yearly Meeting. He describes it as "a very comfortable place, and remarkably well managed; though the number of pupils is seldom large." At the conclusion of his labours in Dutchess County, he spent part of a day at West Point, on the Hudson, where there is a military academy. Whilst there, in the prospect of holding a meeting on the ensuing day,

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he gave vent to his feelings in the following lines. They are copied from his Journal under date 5th mo., 16th :—

AN EVENING'S REST AT WEST POINT.

The pulse of life stands still—a pause is come—
Though mute, its meaning cannot be denied:
"Cease from thyself, and commune with thy God,
The Maker and the Saviour of the world."
In solemn silence, far below my feet,
Flows on the wondrous river; and the rocks
On either side impending, clad in green,
The brightest and the loveliest blush of spring,
Fling their dark-pointed shadows—types of Him
Whose strength immutable and fostering care
Invites me to repose. Behind them rise
In mutual near approach, and loftier far,
Yet not so lofty as to mock the eye,
The mountain peaks and domes and pyramids,
Waving with forest; in the distant north
The Katskill, towering high above them all,
Draws her pale outline on the azure sky.
The mingled foliage of the sloping woods
That mantle the deep glen, and kiss the wave,
What brush can paint? The maple filled with juice,
The oaks of various leaf, chisell'd and glazed,
And the light willow weeping gracefully;
The sycamore, and poplar, tulip gemmed,
And blossomed chesnut of the darker hue,
Or brighter green and flowerless, elm and ash,
Display, in all the fulness of their charms,
The utmost vigour of the rising year.
Sloop after sloop comes dancing o'er the wave,
Each sail expanded to the prosperous breeze,
Now white with sunshine, and now dark with shade,
And changed from form to form, at every turn.
Thought roves amid these scenes unchecked, and the young town
That glistens on yon green and distant slope,
Too softly slumbers in the evening beam
To indicate "the busy hum of men,"
Or mar the peaceful solitude of thought.
Here will I meditate, unheard, unseen,
Not joyless, though in tears; and breathe my prayer,
Deep, fervent, frequent, for my best belov'd,
Whom ocean severs from their pilgrim sire.

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The Journal continues:—

5th mo., 18*th*. Yesterday, (at West Point,) was a day to be recorded for the confirmation of my faith. Every way to a meeting seemed closed. The commandant refused an interview with the cadets; the landlord could not prepare a room at the hotel; my friends and I seemed paralyzed. I got down at last to a willingness to be nothing, and invited a few individuals to sit with us at eight o'clock in private. Without notice on my part, we had Major Delafield (the commandant) himself, several of the professors, about thirty of the elder cadets, besides the episcopalian clergyman and others, and were favoured with an excellent meeting.

New York, 6*th mo.*, 2*nd*. I have now to commemorate, with humble gratitude, one of the most open and agreeable Yearly Meetings I have attended in America, which ended in great solemnity on sixth day evening. We had an excellent discussion on slavery, and my pamphlet is in the way of satisfactory circulation. I have been very comfortably united with Daniel Wheeler and T. and E. Robson. The Yearly Meeting has been large, and I trust the state of the society may be regarded as hopeful.

New York, 6*th mo.*, 12*th*. Just returned from an excursion of great interest in New Jersey. Started on fourth day last, with M. Day, and arrived at Princeton at noon. We had an excellent public meeting that night; collegians, professors, &c., generally present. Sixth day to New Brunswick; meeting there with collegians, &c., in the evening. Seventh day, journey (forty miles) to Shrewsbury; much oppression and indisposition at night. Wonderfully helped through the meetings the next day. Came to New York this morning in time to attend a large meeting, with two marriages. To Flushing this evening.

TO J. AND H. G. BACKHOUSE.

Samuel Parsons', Flushing, 6th mo., 15th, 1839.

* * * If Christ be not accepted in *all* his gracious offices, and, as ability is afforded, set forth in the same, the sure con-

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sequence is a gradual lapse into heresy—an observation which applies with equal force to those who disregard his coming in the flesh as the Revealer of truth, and the Propitiation for sin, and to those who think lightly, and dwell very cursorily, (if at all,) on his appearing in the heart, by his Spirit. It seems impossible that anything can be more striking than the lessons which have been read to us, on both these points, of late seasons. My very soul is penetrated with the conviction of the excellence, beauty, and perfection, of pure, primitive Christianity as held by Friends. The evangelical foundation; the spiritual superstructure; what a delightful harmony between the two; what a unity in the glorious whole! Who shall dare to mar it either by diminution or addition?

I do not mean that the whole should be brought forward in every sermon; but the whole should be *deeply* deposited in the mind of every preacher of the gospel, and be brought forth from the treasure-house as the state of the hearers may require, under the immediate influences of the Spirit of Truth. So be it with you, and with me, my dearly beloved fellow-workers in the cause of Christ.

Opposite the hospitable abode, at Flushing, where Joseph John Gurney was now staying, stood two venerable oaks, under which George Fox, nearly two hundred years before, held a large and impressive meeting with the inhabitants of Long Island.*

"Under these oaks," writes Joseph John Gurney, "I had long believed that it would be my duty to hold a meeting, there being no suitable place of worship in the village, large enough to accommodate the people. It was now the middle of the sixth month. Notice had been given of the meeting to be held at five

* See George Fox's journal, vol. 2, p. 192, edition 1709. The precise spot is not indicated in the journal, but the remembrance of it has been preserved by a local tradition. Since J. J. Gurney's visit, one of these oaks has been blown down by a violent storm.

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o'clock in the afternoon of first day, and seats had been provided in the open air for about 1000 people. The day was windy and lowering; and as one dark cloud after another moved rapidly across the sky, I could not but feel considerable anxiety. My powers of voice also appeared nearly gone. But just before five o'clock, the sky cleared, the wind abated, and a multitude of people were seen flocking to the spot; large numbers of the upper class, and many of the labouring inhabitants of the district, including the coloured people, and Irish Roman Catholics. The mixed assembly soon settled into silence, and I was enabled to speak to them for upwards of an hour, so as to be heard by all present. We were reminded that God is 'manifest in his Son,' and great was the attention which prevailed on the occasion. After the offering of prayer, we again fell into silence; and the meeting concluded in much order and quietness. It, was indeed, a good meeting. George Fox might, perhaps, have applied to it his epithet 'glorious.' Immediately afterwards a slight shower fell, which, had it occurred a few minutes sooner, would have robbed the meeting of its best and most solemn moments."

He now left the neighbourhood of New York, with the view of visiting the settlements of Friends, and of holding meetings with the people at large, in the north-western parts of the State, and in Upper Canada. "Sweet and solemn," he observes in his Journal, "are the feelings which mark the commencement of this new pilgrimage; very much like those on leaving Liverpool. O Lord, in the plenitude of thy mercy and of thy love, undertake for me!"

His first object was a visit to Sing Sing, a town on the eastern banks of the Hudson, about thirty miles north of New York, where he was desirous of examining the State penitentiary. In his journal he briefly records the result of his observations.

6th mo. 18th. We have thoroughly inspected the prison this morning, a scene of wondrous industry, but the stimulus, alas! is

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that of the whip, in the arbitrary hands of overseers or under-keepers. I should like to see the stimulus of a share in their wages tried as a substitute. The prison much more than pays its way. Proportion of blacks one in five. A meeting with the prisoners is appointed for this afternoon.

The following letter addressed, three days later, from "the Mountain-house," on the Hudson, to the Governor of the prison, more fully explains his views:—

* * * When I consider how much there is of what is desirable and excellent in the Institution, especially that full and constant employment of the prisoners which is so striking and cheering a spectacle, I feel the more solicitous that the system should be carried to as great a perfection as circumstances will admit, and be divested of all its unfavourable features.

Supposing it to be necessary, with very hardened offenders, and on very particular occasions, to make use of the cat, (which, however, I doubt,) it must surely be allowed that the frequent use of it, at the arbitrary pleasure of the overseer, or under-agent, is a prodigious evil, liable to great abuse. I know the law seems to allow it, but the law might easily be altered at the suggestion of those interested in the good management of the prison. The more I reflect on this subject, the more I deplore this mode of government, which cannot possibly fail still further to harden and degrade those who are subjected to it. Taking the decrease of crime to be the true object of punishment, the reformation of the criminal ought surely to be the leading tendency of every system of prison discipline. I cannot believe that there is any such tendency in the system of the whip. I think we ought to bear on the better parts of the human mind, to act upon honorable hope rather than upon terror or dread. In this point of view, I am deliberately of the judgment that the best antidote for the whip, would be the more legitimate stimulus of *wages*. The giving up to the prisoners of a small portion of their wages, would leave the punishment of imprisonment and hard labour quite

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sufficiently severe; and the very trifling diminution which it would occasion in the profits of the institution, would be abundantly repaid by its moral effects. Even on the most degraded of mankind, no law works with so much efficacy as the law of Christian kindness, grounded on real, serious, religious principle.*

Pursuing his journey, he now spent several weeks among the numerous little settlements of Friends within the Quarterly Meetings of Butternuts, Scipio, and Farmington, in the north-western counties of the State of New York. After "a large and remarkable" meeting at Butternuts, in Otsego county, and another at Burlington, on the following morning, he came to Cooperstown, the county town, situated at the southern extremity of the Otsego Lake, where, at his request, a meeting of the inhabitants was appointed to be held that evening.

"This town," he writes in one of his letters, "derives its name from the late Judge Cooper, whose son and heir occupies the stone mansion, which, although of no great antiquity, here goes by the name of the Old Hall. I called upon him in company with our guide, who had long been acquainted with the family, to invite him to our meeting; and we afterwards found that he had broken away from a gay party in order to attend it. The town was much filled on this day with judges and lawyers; for it was the time of the sessions, and the court adjourned at an earlier hour than usual, for the purpose of affording those gentlemen an opportunity of attending the Friends' meeting. I trust that their obliging behaviour to a stranger was not useless to themselves. The cause of Christianity was pleaded on the occasion, in oppo-

* Referring to the suggestion here made, Joseph John Gurney remarks several years later, "Whether it has been acted on or not I cannot say; but I am glad to observe the following passage in an abstract of the message of the Governor of the State addressed to the legislature at the beginning of 1841:—'The discipline of the prisons has undergone a thorough reform; and the happiest effects are anticipated from the present wise and philanthropic system.'"

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sition to some of those insidious forms of unbelief which are not uncommon in America. We afterwards found that a highly-gifted lawyer, who entertained these sentiments, formed one of the party. On our return to the hotel, I found our friend J. Fenimore Cooper, in his white jacket, ready to row me in his little boat, that I might examine the beauties of the lake to the greatest advantage. I was pleased with the opportunity of his company, and, although his great talents have been employed in a direction which I by no means approve, I ought to acknowledge that his conversation was interesting and instructive. Yet I could not but desire that the strong and well-informed mind of this man of genius, might be brought under that sanctifying influence which can alone enable us to devote all our faculties to the welfare of our fellow-men, and the glory of God."

At Hamilton, in Madison county, "the seat of one of the principal theological seminaries of the Baptists," a large meeting was held in the Baptist meeting-house, which was attended by the Professors of the College, and about one hundred and fifty of the students.

It was an interesting audience, and our Saviour's words were, I trust, not remembered in vain, "This is life eternal, to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." Before leaving the place next morning, I rode up to the college, which is well placed on a commanding hill, about a mile from the town, and had an interview, in the chapel, with the young men and their teachers; the elderly president, Dr. Kendrick, being also present. It was a memorable occasion, during which many of the young men were brought into great tenderness of feeling. Several of them were about to engage in the work of the missionary; nor could I doubt that they were under the preparing hand of that Saviour whose name they were desirous of proclaiming in far-distant lands. Certain it is, that unless *he* sends them forth to their field of labour, and qualifies them for their

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work, their ardent wishes to serve their fellow-men will all be in vain.

After various engagements of a similar nature at New Hartford, Clinton, Westmoreland, Utica, and Rome—"the last a handsome, busy village, destitute of all ancient reminiscences, but, like Utica, teeming with hope for the future;" he writes in his Journal:—

Near Hector, Tomkins county, 7th mo., 13th. Reached Skaneatiles on seventh day; two meetings there on first day. Second day, to Syracuse; good public meeting. Third, to Auburn by railroad; memorable time with 650 prisoners; public meeting in the evening. Fourth, fifth, and sixth days, meetings at Scipio; all remarkable times, the last especially so. Many visits paid to families. Last evening, an excellent public meeting at Aurora. This day concluded my service at Scipio; and a ride of thirty-five miles, of rare beauty in parts, round the head of Lake Cayuga, and by Ithaca, has brought us hither.

Seneca Falls, 7th mo., 16th. [At Hector] we had two open, searching meetings, morning and afternoon. Yesterday a delightful ride with a company of Friends, to the Falls of the Tekennie, a mountain stream, which has forced its way through wondrous chasms of clay-slate, into the Cayuga lake; the Fall is 210 feet high. In the early evening to Ithaca; poorly in body, and much discouraged about myself; but notwithstanding this state of things, and pouring rain, we had, through mercy, a large and good meeting. We rose at half-past four this morning, and a delightful voyage by steam-boat, of forty miles down the beautiful Cayuga lake, brought us within three miles of this large village, where we find ourselves stopped for a public meeting.

Rochester, 7th mo., 28th. The week has been one of great and varied exercise of mind; rendered the more difficult by a continued measure of indisposition, and some anxious thoughts and feelings as to my bodily capacity for getting through the work before me. Last first day, at Farmington; a memorable time; two large

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overflowing meetings; that in the afternoon, from pressure of the multitude, held in the Hicksite meeting-house. I think they were good times; the truth being triumphant, and Christ fully preached.

From one of his letters:—

In the city of Rochester we spent two days, including the first day of the week, in the midst of a small and agreeable society of Friends. The Methodist meeting-house here is of great size, and was thronged at our public meeting in the evening, by an orderly but promiscuous multitude. There are, in Rochester, upwards of twenty convenient places of worship, affording at once accommodation for the whole population, and resistless evidence of the energy of the voluntary system. The number of inhabitants is now about 20,000. The falls of the picturesque Genessee river are very grand and striking, and afford the vast water power which has produced the prosperity of the city. Thirty years ago, this place was a wilderness. It is now a large town of remarkable beauty and prosperity; and what it will be thirty years hence, if its present rate of progress be continued, it is difficult for any one to conceive. The prospect which is enjoyed from Mount Hope—a wooded hill two miles distant, now used as the public cemetery—of the city with its numerous spires; of the Genessee, winding its way through a rich valley; and of Lake Ontario, in the distance, has left a vivid picture on my mind, not easily to be effaced. It is that of a country richly favoured by nature, and bursting into prosperity.

Before we left Rochester we held a meeting with the prisoners in the jail. Amongst them was William L. Mackenzie, one of the restless authors of the late rebellion in Canada. He conducts one of the newspapers at Rochester; and, being a citizen of the United States, had been condemned by the supreme court of the Union, to eighteen months' imprisonment, for the breach of his neutrality. He appeared an acute and intelligent person; his spacious forehead betokening the great mental power which he has at his command, either for good or evil. I could by no means

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approve the exertions which were then making for his deliverance from a confinement which he described as being intensely irksome to him.

On leaving Rochester, Joseph John Gurney was engaged for several days in attending the few scattered meetings of Friends, to the north and east, at Elba, Selby, Hartland, and Somerset. From Selby, he visited the neighbouring settlement of Tonawanta Indians.

TO HIS CHILDREN.

Michael Robson's, Hartland, 8th mo., 3rd, 1839.

Our public meeting at Selby, on fifth day morning, was as large as we could expect, considering that all hands are occupied in the abundant harvest. We spent the remainder of the day in calls upon some of the Friends, including a dying widow, who was quietly anchored in the hope and faith of the Christian. Late in the evening we came to the house of some Friends from Yorkshire, who, with their interesting sons, have flourished in America, both temporally and spiritually; but they have, like others, to work for it with their own hands. This is an indispensable condition. We started, after an early breakfast, yesterday morning for Tonawanta, twelve miles, partly through a vast, wooded swamp, with corderoy roads for about two miles. Then we were obliged to walk, and regaled ourselves as we went along with wild raspberries, which grow there in great profusion. The swamp is gay with the very pretty wild rose of this country, quite a noble shrub; I observed one bush thirty feet in circumference.

Two Friends had preceded us the evening before, to prepare our way; and when we arrived at the Indian village, we found that the chief had held a council, and formally agreed to their proposals for a meeting; runners being sent out to summon the people. The reservation is ten miles in length and two broad; a pretty fertile tract of country, and fairly cultivated. The Tonawanta Indians live entirely by farming; and we saw many

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fine fields of wheat, oats, and corn, and a good many beautiful cows; but their habits are somewhat indolent, and nothing under their hands bespeaks our advanced condition of civilization. Their dwellings, sometimes log and sometimes frame, (you will understand the difference, the former of unsawn timber, and the latter of boards,) are scattered about over the lands, which they hold in common, not in severalty. They are far superior to Irish hovels, and more cleanly than I expected. Our first call was at the house of the "Black Chief," a comfortable abode; a large vessel in which they pound the Indian corn was standing at his door. He was absent, but his squaw and her family looked much at their ease, and took but small notice of us. The squaws glided away whenever our carriage approached them, seeming quite devoid of curiosity, and averse to being seen. I made entry, however, into one of their cottages, and quite enjoyed nursing a noble little brown baby, which one of them had in her lap. The mother and grandmother of the child were there; cleanly, and of fine stature and features; with their lank, black, glossy hair neatly bound about their heads. But few of these can speak any English. We then drove through a picturesque wood to the peaceful abode of the Baptist Missionary, who, on the edge of the reservation, (no white man is allowed to settle on it,) keeps a school for the Indian children, where they are educated, boarded, and clothed at the expense of the Baptist Missionary Society. There were only fourteen in the school, but during the winter they had forty under their care, and I have no doubt these pious people have been useful; though the effect produced is far from being all that could be desired. They have the care of a farm of 120 acres, and we sat down with them and their labourers, including some well-behaved Indians, to their humble fare. Nothing drunk by these hard labourers but water; the Indians working at a dollar a day in harvest time, (the same rate as the whites,) and half a dollar at other times. At ten o'clock we proceeded to the missionary meeting-house, where they had agreed to hold the meeting. It was a curious scene. Johnson, (said to be the principal chief of the six nations,) the Black Chief,

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and some others of these princes of the earth were there; many other men; and a company of squaws, neatly attired in their white blankets, thrown somewhat gracefully over their persons. Most of the men were dressed like the Americans; but a few in the Indian costume. The meeting was begun by a handsome young chief, who spoke with great seriousness, to advise the people (as we were told) to behave with due attention and decorum. Then rose the venerable looking Black Chief, a swarthy old man, to communicate the decision of the council, and to give us their welcome. Soon afterwards I rose, the interpreter standing beside me, and was enabled to preach Christ to them, I trust, with plainness; the interpreter translating sentence by sentence. About an hour was thus occupied; and though I felt the peculiar difficulty of addressing such uncultivated beings, yet I was mercifully helped through, and the meeting ended comfortably. Some of them were very attentive, and expressed a good deal of pleasure; but the general demeanour was on a par with the unemphatic, monotonous sound of their language; displaying but little excitement of any kind. On the whole, I left them with rather affecting impressions; with the fear that, in most respects, they have suffered grievously from their association with those who call themselves Christians.

The American spirit-shops on the very borders of the settlement, (they seem to have none of their own,) are sources of irreparable injury; and now there is every probability that they will be cheated out of their reservation, and driven into the far West. Alas! for the treachery and iniquity of our species! What a base creature is man without grace! I heartily wish Friends may continue their attentions to these Indians, as they have the highest respect for the "descendants" of William Penn.

After visiting Niagara, Joseph John Gurney proceeded to Buffalo, where he held a large meeting in one of the principal chapels. It is here that the Erie canal joins the lake, a circumstance which gives to Buffalo much of its

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importance. The canal is 360 miles in length, uniting the waters of Lake Erie with those of the Hudson; and was formed under the auspices of the late De Witt Clinton, Governor of the State of New York. This extraordinary work "may be in great part ascribed to the unceasing exertions of two excellent Friends, the late Thomas Eddy and John Murray, both of New York. It is found to be of constantly increasing importance; so much so that the present width of the canal is wholly insufficient for the traffic upon it."

Having attended the Quarterly Meeting of Friends at Lockport, Joseph John Gurney and his companion went forward on their journey towards Upper Canada. The rebellion that had recently taken place in that province had left the population in a very unsettled state. "In consequence of the premature publication of Lord Durham's able report, the disaffected party had adopted his name, and were availing themselves of the circumstance in order to keep up a continued excitement. The spirit of many, on both sides, appeared lamentably bad; and wherever we went" writes Joseph John Gurney, "we found ourselves constrained to plead for the cause of good order and Christian moderation." Taking the steamboat to Hamilton, at the western extremity of Lake Ontario, they went forward a distance of sixty miles westward to Norwich, "a fertile country district, pretty well cleared and cultivated," where there is a numerous settlement of Friends. Thence, by way of Toronto, they proceeded to Yonge Street, a journey of 130 miles, where they attended the Half-year's Meeting of Friends of Upper Canada, which occupied parts of three successive days, and is described by Joseph John Gurney as "an occasion of much interest. The sincere and simple-hearted people of whom it was composed excited my regard

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and sympathy. They had been exposed to many troubles during the late political excitement."

After some weeks of diligent exertion, Joseph John Gurney completed his labours in Upper Canada; and, crossing Lake Ontario, spent a few days, previously to returning southwards, at Oswego, in the state of New York.

Oswego, 9th mo., 29th. [I have been] much occupied by finishing two important documents. First, an epistle to Friends of Michigan. I hope and believe I had a little of the true unction in preparing this document; but it has cost me some close exercise of mind.* Secondly, long letter or report to Sir George Arthur, respecting various points in Upper Canada. We had hoped to sail for Sacket's harbour, with a view to Friends at Le Ray on fifth day; but have been impeded by the continued rough and stormy weather, together with an apprehension that my service was not complete in this place.

The mournful news has here reached me of the unexpected death of my long loved, and truly faithful and loving friend, Sarah Buxton. Oh how I feel for dear Anna Gurney! And it is a true affliction to myself. Would that there were less of selfishness in my sorrow!

He was now looking forward to the prospect of spending the winter in the West Indies, for which purpose he expected to sail from New York in the 11th month. The intervening time was principally occupied in various engagements in the neighbourhood of New York and Philadelphia, and in attending, for a second time, the Yearly Meeting at Baltimore.

Albany, 10th mo., 1st. We are here at the Temperance house, after a fine journey through the valley of the Mohawk; my

* The object of this Epistle was to point out the scriptural accuracy and practical importance of the views of Friends, especially on worship and the ministry; and their accordance, and necessary connexion, with the fundamental truths of the Gospel.

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friend Dr. Sprague being absent. I called on his dear children; and felt happy in the house of "the good man," though its master was away. I have been tried a good deal during the day with doubts and fears, lest I should in any way have unduly turned my back on the Lord's work. But this evening I am at rest, in the renewed, humble, and consoling belief that all is well.

New York, 10th mo., 7th. On sixth day, down the Hudson, to this city, where, in the house [of my faithful companion] Henry Hinsdale, our cup of peace overflowed. Yesterday was deeply interesting; two good meetings; between them read my Michigan Letter to Richard and Anne Mott, to their entire satisfaction; after the afternoon meeting, a precious time in William Waring's family in the sweet recollection of dear Sarah Waring; and after tea at E. Coggeshall's, a time of prayer and intimate intercourse, never to be forgotten, with her, Richard Mott, and Samuel Parsons. It was a most sweet and confirming taste of heavenly things.

On the steam-boat, in going from New York to Philadelphia, he again met with Martin Van Buren, the President of the United States.

"He kindly recognized me," writes Joseph John Gurney, "and I was glad of the opportunity of conversing with him on a variety of interesting topics. He fully agreed in my view of the importance of the daily use of the Bible in the common schools, as well as on the subject of mildness in prison discipline; listened with pleasure to a description which I gave him, (in answer to his inquiries,) of Wilberforce and Buxton, and spoke with feeling on the subject of the African slave trade. He allowed me, at the same time, to press upon him the claims of the afflicted slaves. When the voluntary system in religion was mentioned, he justly observed that 'no other system was possible in America.' He was without any attendant except his son; but neither the simplicity of his mode of travelling nor that of his manners, interfered with his maintaining a certain dignified

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demeanour corresponding with his station. On parting, I presented him with the daily text book, published by my sister Elizabeth Fry. He was well acquainted with her character and objects, and received the gift with the easy politeness for which he is so remarkable."

Referring to his attendance of the Yearly Meeting at Baltimore, Joseph John Gurney remarks:—

11*th mo.*, 9*th*. [From] second day (the 28th ult.,) to fifth day inclusive, the Yearly Meeting; a really good time. My returning certificate passed in the meeting of ministers and elders with full unity. Meeting for worship on fourth day; a very open time; the doctrine of the supper fully developed. Meetings interspersed with good visits to Friends, and on the whole I had ample cause for believing that I had been again favoured to find my right place.

From one of his letters:—

As I continued to feel a lively interest in the welfare of the Hicksite community in those parts, and could not obtain the use of the meeting-house which they occupy, for the purpose of a public meeting with them, I thought it right to spend a day or two, during this visit to Baltimore, in writing a Christian address to that body. My object was to explain to the young people and others, the difference of sentiment, on points of the most fundamental character, which subsists between their leaders and the Society of Friends; and to call upon them to accept the Saviour of men in all his gracious offices: showing them, that it is by faith in Him that we obtain the glorious gift of everlasting life. This address was approved by the Friends, printed, and extensively circulated; and I venture to entertain the hope, that it has been blessed to some at Baltimore, and in other parts of the country. Sure I am that it was written under the feelings of Christian affection, and with the hearty desire for their spiritual and eternal welfare.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

1839—1840. ÆT. 52.

DEPARTURE FROM NEW YORK; VOYAGE; ARRIVAL AT SANTA CRUZ; ST. THOMAS; TORTOLA; ST. CHRISTOPHERS; ANTIGUA; DOMINICA; LETTER FROM THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON; JAMAICA; RESULT OF INVESTIGATIONS; ADDRESS TO THE PLANTERS; HAVANA; RETURN TO AMERICA.

ACCOMPANIED by his friend Mahlon Day of New York, Joseph John Gurney sailed from that city, in the Camilla, for Santa Cruz, on the 22nd of the 11th month. So many of the details of his voyage and of his visit to the West India islands, are given in the volume which he subsequently published,* that it seems unnecessary to add much to the comparatively brief outline contained in his Journal.

11*th mo.*, 22*nd.* Under a bright sun, with a favourable breeze, and with peace and ease of mind, we sailed about ten o'clock, and have since quite enjoyed the day. The scenery of the Bay, and in passing through the Narrows, beautiful; then the highlands of Jersey; and now, the sun having just set in splendour, we are fairly at sea, out of sight of land.

Many warm and dear friends have I left in America, but have no feeling on my mind, of having permanently parted from them, though for the present, my service there is closed.

With regard to the objects now in view, there are three which severally in their distinct degrees, and very fully in their com-

* See Winter in the West Indies.

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bination, seem to justify the devotion of the coming winter to these "Isles afar off." The first is health—for I believe it is desirable, if not needful for me, to avoid another winter in North America. Secondly—slavery, a view for myself of the working of emancipation with the design of subsequently reporting it; and, I hope that there will therein be a full answer to my dear sister Fry's prayer, that my mission might be blessed to the cause of liberty, as well as to that of religion. Thirdly, and above all, the gospel mission. May it please the Lord to preserve me in safety, and to bless the mission to all these objects! I have earnestly prayed that he would be pleased to deliver me from all fears, and from all cares. It is, indeed, an affecting farther recession from home, and from my children and family circle. I have heartily committed them and all my concerns to the Lord. Deeply and inexpressibly unworthy as I am, I now and then catch a *glimpse of glory to come.* The truth of these prospects is wonderfully confirmed to my mind, by the realizing of the touches of his holy hand in this pilgrimage. I can and do pray, that he will permit and enable me to bring the whole of this transatlantic mission to a sound and satisfactory conclusion. Hitherto he has wonderfully helped and guided me. I must not, will not, distrust him.

12*th mo.*, 1*st.* We have sped along finely on our voyage, having been favoured with an uninterrupted fair wind, being now in 22 deg. north latitude, enjoying a delightful trade wind; the sky clear, the sea quiet, and the temperature delicious. It is cause for true thankfulness that we have been permitted to hold our meetings to-day to our comfort. That in the cabin this morning, with our whole company of passengers, very satisfactory and relieving to me. Then with the sailors; and, in the afternoon, Scripture reading, &c., on deck. This evening has been one of quiet leisure. I hope a degree of thankfulness clothes my spirit. The Lord be praised!

TO HIS CHILDREN.

12*th mo.*, 3*rd.* At sea; on board the Camilla. We are moving along very slowly this morning, perhaps at the rate of two miles

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per hour; the weather delicious; but our expectations of seeing land have not been realized; I question whether they will be before to-morrow or next day. I trust it is in the ordering of a gracious Providence that I am now enjoying a delightful, settled summer, instead of the capricious beginnings of a North American winter. May we be enabled entirely and unfeignedly to put our trust in the "Shepherd of Israel!" I rose between four and five this morning, being called by the captain to take a view of "the Cross," the favourite constellation of the southern hemisphere. The sight which I obtained of it, before a cloud obscured it, was too transient to allow of my saying much for its beauty; but the four stars of which it is composed were not very striking to my eye. I enjoyed a finer spectacle when I turned towards the east; the almost expiring Moon, Venus, and Mars, were in all their splendour; and the profusion of azure, lilac, ultra-marine, pea-green, orange, and crimson, which mantled the sky about half an hour before sunrise, I certainly never saw equalled. One of our sailors displayed symptoms yesterday both of thievishness and mutiny, and after a pretty violent conflict, was tied up to be flogged. The execution of the sentence, at our intercession, was remitted; and the spirited conduct of the captain, ending with an act of clemency, seems to have worked well.

Fourth day afternoon, 12th mo., 4th. About noon yesterday we caught our first sight of land, viz., of the Virgin Gorda, a rocky island, of two cones, of considerable elevation, uninhabited; and, like the rest of the Virgin Islands, evidently of volcanic origin. Soon after, Tortola, St. John's, and St. Thomas', came into view, but at a great distance. The first sight of the West Indies could not fail to be very interesting to my feelings. In the afternoon we were entertained by the appearance of a "sea lawyer," *i. e.*, a shark of noble dimensions, which followed the vessel for a long time; the first I ever saw; his broad head, agile body, and flapping green fins, were quite a spectacle; and I saw his little myrmidon fishes which accompanied him on his journey; little blue creatures, striped with pink. Various attempts were made to entrap him; but though evidently attracted

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by the bait, he seemed to have a perfect notion of the hook within, and refused to be caught. It is his known discernment and cunning that have imparted to him the name of Lawyer. The scene on early rising this morning was lovely; the sky was again gloriously adorned, and the southern Cross, which I found I had not truly seen before, shone forth beautifully; four stars thus arranged ·⁘· The islands of Virgin Gorda, Tortola, St. John's, and St. Thomas', with their peaked volcanic tops full in sight, at the distance of about twenty miles; the extreme clearness of the atmosphere producing an apparent nearness. They were seen in the west. In the far distant east were just discernible the lofty mountains of Porto Rico, where, alas! slavery exists in its worst form.

Sixth day, 12th mo., 6th. We have just landed at the little town of West End, Santa Cruz, two weeks from the time of weighing anchor at New York. The approach to this beautiful island was singularly interesting; fine conical hills and mountains cultivated to their tops, partly red where the hoe had been at work, and partly bright green with the sugar canes. Cocoanut trees, with their strange looking but elegant deciduous branches scattered over the scene. Neat settlements of the planters visible in different places, consisting of a handsome dwelling, a mill for grinding the canes, sugar-boiling houses, and neat-looking negro huts in the distance. I have made several sketches on board ship, and fear I shall fill my sketch-books somewhat too rapidly. We have obtained excellent accommodation at Rebecca Rogers' boarding-house, where our dear friend Mary Parsons died last year, and are greeted on our arrival by Samuel Parsons, jun., who is here on business; he intends sailing to-night for New York, which affords an excellent opportunity for my sending this despatch.

Santa Cruz, it will be recollected, is one of the islands belonging to Denmark. "The slaves," remarks Joseph John Gurney, in the volume above alluded to, "form about four-fifths of the population, and are in number about 19,000. Time was, when the treatment to which they were

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exposed was harsh and severe; and then their numbers were constantly declining. Of late years, however, the Danish government has instituted various restrictions which have ameliorated their condition. * * * [Yet] the degradation occasioned by slavery in the Danish islands—the low physical, intellectual, and moral condition of the slaves, as compared with those of the liberated negroes of the British islands, is obvious and unquestionable."

Santa Cruz, 12th mo., 8th. We have been holding a good meeting in the airy hall of our lodgings, this morning; about forty present. There seemed rather an unusual opening for service among them. The black servants of the house present, and the boarders from some other houses. I must, with all gratitude, acknowledge that I feel no inconsiderable comfort and happiness in being here; wonderfully divested of anxiety, and enjoying the indescribably balmy breezes. There is a fanning of the nerves in it, which is certainly very pleasurable; but I humbly trust, that the sources of my happiness lie deeper. My companions, in their respective places, are truly valuable. I think I could not be better suited than by Mahlon Day, a friend and brother indeed.

12th mo., 11th. We held good and relieving meetings on first day; at our own quarters in the morning; and at Elizabeth Boyle's in the afternoon. In the evening read the Scriptures at Captain Godwin's. We had obtained, as we supposed, the sanction of the Judge (Anderson) for these comparatively private religious services. But the next day great difficulties were made about them by the police, and a formal order sent to each of the boarding-houses to prevent them. This was very trying to my feelings; but I could not accuse myself of having acted otherwise than prudently. Yesterday, we went to Bassin, the other end of the island—a fine drive; and were introduced by our friend David Rogers, the American consul, to Governor Söbötker, who received us civilly; but after expressing that he had no objection to our meetings at the boarding-houses, subsequently confirmed the

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Judge's order; so that our way is so far hedged up, but some opening seems to arise for our using the Episcopalian chapel.

12*th mo.*, 19*th*. Last first day was one of much quietness; and we have since formed several interesting Christian acquaintances. Our proposal for holding public meetings is acceded to by the Government, and we look to next first day for the accomplishment of the object. I feel the weight of it very much. May we be graciously helped through! Last evening I attended a religious meeting held by Luccock with Sabbath-school teachers. It was large. I spoke freely on several points, especially "waiting;" and prayed at the conclusion of the meeting. This was much to my relief.

12*th mo.*, 29*th*. It is not easy or familiar work to be engaged, as I now am, in these tropical regions; and I sometimes feel my total separation from all my friends more than a little. Yet I have great cause for thankfulness that my way has hitherto been graciously made, and that we are favoured with the rich blessing of health. Last first day, the 22nd, we held large meetings at West End and Bassin, and afterwards enjoyed some very pleasant intercourse with our friends on the island, especially with the many kind and zealous ones in the neighbourhoood of West End. Our parting seemed without a cloud.

After a visit of nearly three weeks, Joseph John Gurney left Santa Cruz, and proceeded to St. Thomas, an island which also belongs to the crown of Denmark.

St. Thomas, 12*th mo.*, 29*th*. We left West End on fourth day, 25th, in a schooner for this place, where we arrived on fifth day morning. The beauty of the scenery here is great, but commerce and pleasure seem to engross and absorb the population of this emporium of the West Indies. We have been kindly treated by Edward Simmons and his family, from Philadelphia; and have enjoyed some pleasant hours with them, including his son-in-law, Frederick Peniston, and his wife. Abraham Lebagh, the Dutch reformed minister, has been very obliging, and lends us his place of

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worship for our public meeting, giving up his own service for it. Thus our way is again open. O that grace and power may be given to me, to make known the everlasting riches which are in Christ, for the benefit of some immortal souls!

Referring to Tortola, the island next visited, he says, "we could not but feel an intense interest in making our first visit to a British island, peopled with emancipated negroes. Out of a population of nearly five thousand there are scarcely more than two hundred white persons; but we heard of no inconvenience arising from this disparity."

Tortola, 1st mo., 5th, 1840. Again I have to record many mercies. Our meeting at St. Thomas' on first day, was held to our satisfaction, and apparently to that of the people. On third day we set sail from that island, and reached this port on fourth day morning to breakfast. We have spent an uncommonly pleasant and interesting time here, having been warmly received by our friends Isaac Thomas, William Rogers, Judge Wigley, Dr. Dyett, Dr. Stovo, R. V. Shew, J. Dubois, and many others, including Drummond Hay, the young president. We have ridden about this romantic island in every direction, and have enjoyed the high pleasure of finding the cause of free labour going on well, without a single complaint. The evidence of this fact has poured in upon us.

To-day we have been blessed with excellent meetings. In the morning at the Methodist chapel; large attendance of black labourers, all well dressed; the gentry also there. This afternoon at the African settlement, under a tamarind tree, we met a community of free Africans, taken out of slave-ships; a most willing-hearted and attentive audience, two or three hundred. Thus we have abundant cause for thankfulness, and I feel much relieved, and favoured with sweet peace.

In the volume above noticed, he observes:—

Tortola was once the seat of a little Society of Friends; and one of our most eminent travelling ministers of former days, Thomas

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Chalkley, found there a field of labour and a grave. There are no members of the Society now on the island, but there is a small community of black people, settled as tenants in common, on an estate once belonging to Samuel and Mary Nottingham, Quakers of high character. About sixty years ago they liberated their slaves, from conscientious motives, and gave them their estate at Longlook, on the eastern coast. A letter of Christian advice, addressed to their predecessors, by these pious persons, then living at Bristol, is still cherished by the negroes on the property, about sixty in number, and held as a sort of title-deed to the estate.* We had great pleasure in visiting them. Their land is on the brow of a mountain, and a considerable part of it is well cultivated with yams and other vegetables. We held a religious meeting with them, in the largest of their cottages, and were entirely satisfied with their respectable appearance and behaviour.

Having pursued their voyage to St. Christopher's, Joseph John Gurney writes:—

Second day, 1*st mo.*, 13*th*. We arrived safely at St. Kitts on sixth day morning, after a noble sail by Anguilla, St. Martin's, Saba, St. Bartholomew's, St. Eustatia. The approach to St. Kitt's magnificent; the Monkey Mountain, 3600 feet high, covered with wood; and the appearance of prosperous cultivation in the plains, very cheering; eleven vessels in the harbour waiting for sugars.

On our landing we soon found that dangerous bilious fever pervaded the town, Basseterre, and were greatly disappointed at learning that Charles Cunningham, the governor, was absent. Finding no lodging in the town, we took up our quarters at the delightful government house, on the invitation of the Secretary and the President of the Council. There we continued, kindly cared for by the steward, until this morning; and three interesting days we have had.

Seventh day. Ride before breakfast; call on Robert Claxton, the Solicitor-General; spent the morning in a ride with A. Burt,

* See a copy of this letter in the Appendix, at pp. 233, 234, of the Winter in the West Indies.

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over the hills to Cayon, where I had much satisfaction in visiting the Moravian settlement under the care of brother Münzer. In the course of the day I obtained much important and highly encouraging information respecting the free labourers, and the general prosperity of the colony. The Methodists and Moravians are doing great things on this island, their labours tell on vast masses of the population.

Yesterday was, I trust, a favoured sabbath. Large meeting at the Methodist meeting-house at eleven o'clock. Spiritual religion declared to an intelligent and willing-hearted audience. Afterwards called on R. R. Cleghorn, stipendiary magistrate, who was ill with the fever; very interesting communication with him on slavery. In the evening we had a good meeting in the Moravian chapel, which was filled to excess; great numbers about the house. It left me tired, but easy in mind. This morning we have enjoyed interesting seasons with the household at the Governor's; with the lively, intelligent children at the Moravian school; with A. Burt and his wife; and finally, with a company of sailors on the sea-shore. We are now embarked for Antigua, and may probably call at Montserrat.

Antigua, 1st mo., 16th. After a favourable voyage of two days and nights, we landed here yesterday morning, and have renewed cause for humble gratitude for the protection and lovingkindness of our Lord. Soon after our arrival, James Cox, the exemplary Methodist minister, kindly granted me the use of his chapel for a public meeting in the evening, at their usual time. A large number of persons attended, and I think it was a quiet, satisfactory meeting. I feel a great desire that in these successive services I may be preserved on the true ground, and that I may be graciously favoured with yet more of the true anointing. This morning, a precious time of prayer followed our morning reading, in our retirement in my own chamber. Kind calls from James Gordon, once of Runcton, and from Archdeacon Davis.

At Antigua Joseph John Gurney was detained several weeks, partly by indisposition. The evidence there afforded

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him of the beneficial effects of emancipation was very satisfactory. Amongst other interesting and benevolent individuals with whom he became acquainted, he enjoyed frequent opportunities of intercourse with the Governor, Sir William Colebrooke, who "seemed to derive pleasure from freely imparting his just and admirable views of Colonial policy, founded on the immutable basis of Christian principle."

Writing at Dominica, the island next visited, he says:—

2nd mo., 2nd. Finding myself much recovered, I fell to work again; and on fourth day (the 29th ult.) visited the jail and house of correction, and held little meetings in each, accompanied by Chief Justice Nanton, W. Marshall, Dr. Wood, &c. Then the endowed grammar school; then the Moravians and their school, pleasant and satisfactory interview; then, after an early dinner, to the Solicitor-General, Robert Horsford, at Dewitt's, a pleasant call; and, in the evening, a long call from Sir William Colebrooke, and further documents to look over.

On fifth day morning, sailed for this island, which, after a rough, sea-sick, but otherwise favourable voyage, we reached on sixth day night. We landed before breakfast yesterday morning, and were comfortably housed and boarded at Maria Dalrymple's. There we found some interesting coloured brethren, with whom we took sweet counsel in the truth, enjoying a precious solemnity after breakfast; the regular ministers absent at their conference at St. Kitt's. Called on Major Macphail, the Governor; and afterwards, with our young energetic coloured friends, rode about the luxuriant romantic country until night overtook us. In the evening, spent a very agreeable hour or two at the governor's. Nothing can well exceed the beauty of this island, both on approaching it by sea and in the interior. Nature is here fertility embodied; and freedom is working admirably, notwithstanding the obstructions interposed in some matters by self-will and old prejudices.

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FROM THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON.

44, Via Condotti, Rome,
January 6th, 1840.

How passing strange it is that I should write from Rome, addressing you in Barbadoes! I wish we could change places for a few days. Neither St. Peter's, nor the Capitol, nor the dying gladiator, nor Apollo himself, all beautiful as he is, are so interesting to me as would be the sight of the Negroes, working for their own benefit, and sheltered by law from the lash of the cart-whip. It is a sight I pant to behold. * * *

I have enjoyed both the country and the wonderful works of art in Rome, more than I had any notion that I could. Rome is, in truth, a wonderful place. There is hardly anything more remarkable than the profusion of its treasures. You go to a villa of which you have heard next to nothing, and you see scattered in all directions a quarry of beautiful cut marble. What must Rome have been in its glory, when its relics are so surpassing? It must be remembered that there is now only what the Goths, and the Dark Ages, and the various conquerors have left. Everything bespeaks wonderful intellect. But then—the base, cruel, cowardly ruffians—the whole population pouring into the Colosseum to see two poor captives hew one another to pieces; and finding infinite delight and merriment in such a holiday! There too—close by the theatre of their entertainment—is the dank prison in which, according to a tradition which has some warrant, Paul prayed and shivered. I wish the conquerors could have known that more true and lasting renown would cleave to that despised prisoner than to the chief of their immortal heroes.

From Dominica Joseph John Gurney proceeded, by way of Santa Cruz, to Jamaica. He had, at one time, contemplated a visit to Barbadoes and Trinidad. "There is, I confess," he writes in his Journal, "a disappointment

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to the natural feelings in not going forward; but as, when Paul 'assayed to go into Bithynia, the Spirit suffered him not;' so I think it is with me in the present case, as in former instances during this pilgrimage."

Santa Cruz, 2nd mo., 16th. We arrived on third day, and met with a cordial welcome. We have since visited several of our friends, and have had remarkable religious opportunities at each house. There seems scarcely a possibility now of our getting to America in time for Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. I must endeavour quietly to leave it. I have been striving to do right, and if I have in any respect been mistaken, I trust my dear Lord will overrule my infirmities for good; and that he will not take his Holy Spirit from me, or cast me away from his divine presence.

At sea, 2nd mo., 23rd. After the above entry, the Whitmores and some other friends sat down with us at our lodgings, and, notwithstanding past difficulties, we were favoured with a precious meeting; and the police gave us no further molestation. In the afternoon we read with the "slaves" of the house, and spent a highly interesting evening at the Rouans. Many of the Santa Cruz gentry were there. I read John xiv, and a very solemn meeting was held afterwards; I was, in conclusion, much engaged in prayer. It seemed the crown to our religious labours in the island, and left me happy and at ease.

On second day I completed the prospective arrangement respecting the ship Whitmore, and our voyage from Jamaica; and spent half an hour with General Söbötker, the governor, with a view of giving him the result of our inspection of the working of freedom in the islands we had visited. I hope the interview answered some good purpose; and I left a similar report in writing with our friend Luccock, for General Von Scholten, the governor-general, on his return to the island. After interesting leave-taking visits from many of our friends, who loaded us with kindness and presents, we set sail [in the Eclipse] last third day afternoon with a fair breeze, and calm and satisfied minds;

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having, through mercy, met with clear evidence that our return to Santa Cruz had been timely and right.

We have been favoured so far with a remarkably fine voyage, having for the most part a favourable wind, and have passed along under the southern coasts of Porto Rico and Hayti. The latter being strange to all on board, and our calculations of longitude being little more than guess-work, we have been put to some difficulty. The opening upon us of Alto Velo and Beata, sixty miles a-head of our calculation, on sixth day afternoon, was very agreeable. We then turned north-west, with a view of landing at Jaquemel harbour, [in Hayti;] but the next morning found ourselves becalmed before a part of the coast which we were wholly unable to ascertain. In the evening we moved westward, and at night-fall, came to a wild, romantic spot, which so far corresponded with my apprehensions of Jaquemel, that I determined, notwithstanding a fair wind for progress, to stay the vessel in its course until morning. The affair cost me much deep feeling and even conflict, which was heightened this morning, when, on a further inspection of the coast, I became clearly convinced that we were before our proposed harbour—a wild, desolate-looking spot. The captain, mate, and all the rest of the party were, however, of a different judgment, and I gave leave for the vessel to be turned to her westward course, a fair wind blowing freshly. Sure as I felt that we had missed our port, and had thus lost the opportunity of the visit to Hayti, I felt deeply tried and even afflicted for a time; but very soon an entire calm was most graciously brought over my mind, and I became convinced that it was best for me to proceed without delay towards Jamaica. Since then we have had a splendid voyage along the remaining magnificent coast of Hayti, and are now on our way to Jamaica.

TO HIS CHILDREN.

On board the Eclipse, 2nd mo., 23rd, 1840.

* * * * * * *

I am more preserved from anxiety respecting you, than I could have anticipated. I believe I have given you up to the Lord,

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and he graciously enables me to feel confidence that he continues to care for you in body and in spirit. Most earnest is my solicitude, deeply felt on this solemn Sabbath day, that you may each of you grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. I beseech you to watch unto prayer. Remember how ill your father could bear the least departure, on your part, from that narrow path, in which it becomes you to walk. Let us look cheerfully forward, in submission to the divine will, to the probability of our meeting in the course of the present year, perhaps in the summer; and let us individually strive to correct every undesirable habit, that we may find each other improved; intellectually, morally, and spiritually. Then, surely, our meeting will be joy indeed!

On his arrival at Kingston, in Jamaica, he had the satisfaction of meeting his friends John and Maria Candler, from England; who had been already many weeks in the island, with the view, principally, of applying a fund raised by the Society of Friends, in England, for the benefit of the negro population.

Kingston, Jamaica. First day evening, 3rd mo., 1st. We landed here in safety, on fourth day morning, and were warmly greeted by John and Maria Candler, and their friends, Charles Lake, and William Anderson, of the legislature. They had prepared very comfortable lodgings for us. We have since spent two good evenings at John Candler's, with several pious people.

Yesterday afternoon, visits to the House of Correction and County Jail; bad and insufficient prisons, the latter particularly; but the meetings held there were, I hope, good times, especially in the open yard of the jail; interesting hour afterwards with William and Lucy Anderson. To-day we have been favoured with two very large meetings, about three thousand each; one at Samuel Oughton's Baptist Meeting-house in the morning; an almost entirely black congregation; and a very promiscuous one at the Wesleyan meeting-house this afternoon. I hope and

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believe that our divine Helper and Master was with us on these occasions. I felt enabled to speak very plainly to the coloured people in the morning; in the afternoon I had to set forth the gospel remedy for all man's obliquities. In both meetings the people were solid and attentive; very quiet in the times of silence.

Joseph John Gurney continued in Jamaica rather more than four weeks. During most of this period, besides attending to the various calls of religious duty, he was diligently occupied in journeying through the principal districts of the island, carefully investigating and noting the actual state of things around him.

Spanish Town, 3rd mo., 5th. I rose on second day morning calm and peaceful. Excursion with John and Maria Candler, to Papine; (Wildman's sugar estate;) breakfasted with W. Manning, catechist; visit to Hope estate; and to the Independent negro village. Except at table after breakfast, no religious service during the day. The information respecting the negroes, in general, satisfactory; returned to Kingston in time to dine at George Atkinson's, at whose house we met others of the planters; their information favourable. Third and fourth days spent in a very interesting expedition to Halberstadt coffee establishment, in the Port Royal mountains. Evening ride to Bloxburgh estate; good accounts at both; scenery delightful. Next morning, little meeting after breakfast with many of the black people, and a loud call extended to "depart from all iniquity;" fine ride afterwards to Lucky Valley sugar and coffee estate, where we were entertained by Hector M. Wood. Returned by the beautiful falls of the Falls river, between steep limestone rocks, to the tavern where our carriage was left; thence to Kingston, which place we left this morning with a view to a fortnight's tour, intending to hold meetings here on first day. I trust the Lord is still condescending to guide.

Sixth day morning. We had a noble anti-slavery meeting last evening in Phillippo's chapel; a large assembly; much good

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feeling; some little violence of expression. I had to advert to the practical points of the case, and to recommend quietness, charity, industry, &c., all which was well received; and in the retrospect I feel peace. After breakfast this morning, we were favoured spiritually to draw water together from the living spring. Present, J. and M. Candler, Captain Stewart, the American and Scottish missionaries; and the Baptist minister. Somewhat felt of that unity which is beyond all questions of form and administration.

St. Ann's Bay, 3rd mo., 12th. I am writing from a beautiful spot; a fine view of the bay and little town; the humming birds flitting about; the body rested by a good night; the mind easy.

On third day we reached Jericho; a fine drive through St. Thomas in the vale; passed by the notorious Rodney Hall workhouse, which it was no longer necessary to visit; arrived in pouring rain at the Baptist missionary's; most kindly taken in and entertained. Many hundreds of the quondam slaves came to meeting in the evening. It was a good, lively time. We had a precious time of ministry, &c., with the Merricks and Phillippos, who accompanied us so far, yesterday morning, but we were too late in our start for this place. We found the journey difficult, and could not get over the ground with any speed, especially in passing over Mount Diavolo. The rich, wooded scenery on the heights, and that of the descent to Moneague, highly beautiful. It was with extreme difficulty that we reached the Baptist chapel here just as the people were dispersing. We were enabled to rally them, and were favoured with a good, though short, meeting. The message of the Lord was, I trust, delivered in seme measure of life and power. Nothing could exceed the loving attention of the people.

Mount Carey, Thomas Burchell's, 3rd mo., 16th. Fifth day, peculiarly interesting; fine journey, first through the sugar grounds by the coast for seven or eight miles, all appearing prosperous; then up a mountain covered with pimento trees. We then came to Antrim estate. John Candler and I borrowed two ponies of some black people going to the meeting, and rode

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eight miles through a beautiful country. The rest of the party came with carriages over the difficult passes, with the help of several kind negroes. We overtook crowds of these people going to the meeting at Brownstown, which I had appointed. It was a goodly sight. We were hospitably received by John Clarke, the valuable Baptist missionary. The meeting large and affecting. Our party left behind arrived safely, to our great joy, before it finished. The next day a pleasant journey through a fruitful, prospering country, to Falmouth; where we met a warm welcome from brother Ward and the widow Nicholls. Good, but not very large meeting in the evening; plain advice given to the labourers, —"Whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as unto the Lord, and not unto men;"—cultivation of the soil; cultivation of the mind; Scripture; care of children, &c. It was well received. The next morning, calls on the several ministers; visit to the prisons; and pleasant journey to Montego Bay, where we were kindly taken in by Thomas Burchell's wife, he being absent.

Yesterday was a fine, encouraging sabbath. Nearly 3000 people, almost exclusively black, at the chapel in the morning; a good, solemn meeting. John Candler and myself both engaged; the seriousness of the people wonderful. In the afternoon, visits to the miserable house of correction and jail, and meetings in them. In the evening, a very crowded and satisfactory meeting at the Methodist meeting-house.

Mandeville, 3rd mo., 22nd. Our week has been a remarkable one. Our two days of retirement at Mount Carey, (though I felt every way weak at the time,) gave me the opportunity of writing my intended address to the planters on reconciliation, to the satisfaction of my own mind, and that of my friends. We also inspected some of the neighbouring estates; visited a capital school connected with the mission, and held a good meeting on third day evening. Conversation after meeting with the people of Montpellier estate, (Lord Seaford's;) up till midnight to finish the Address.

Fourth day morning to Betheltown, another Baptist station, to breakfast with Thomas Burchell, where they have about 2000

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hearers, and another school. We were much united with him. He is a gentleman and a Christian, of modest manners and solid worth; I doubt not a highly important instrument in the hand of the Lord. A drive of about twenty miles, afterwards, to George Marcey's, a pious proprietor, belonging to the Church of England, living in a beautiful penn. He gave us a very kind reception, and we held a good meeting with his people, and a still better one on fifth day morning before we parted.

Sixth day, went six miles to Barton estate to breakfast, under the care of the stipendiary magistrate, Ricketts; the estate capitally managed. Thence up to Boguehill, after calling at Bogue, a Moravian mission station; where we found a pretty good school, and a kind German brother; also at William Foster's; he with his family being proprietors of 10,000 acres in that lovely country, now doing well. A very difficult, tedious route, under the guidance of Dr. Hay, whom we met at Foster's, brought us before nightfall to Weare Penn, in Manchester, the residence of John Davy, who has twenty estates in good order, under his care. There we were comfortably lodged, though he was absent. In the morning he and Dr. Davy, the custos, came to us, also Dr. Stewart, the rector. I read the address to them, and the morning's conversation with this circle was fully to our satisfaction. We then spent four or five hours in travelling over a difficult road to this place, where we arrived in safety last evening. A solemn time of waiting and prayer concluded the day, in which our far distant beloved ones were remembered before the Lord. In the remembrance of many striking little providences during the past week, we have abundant cause for gratitude; and for renewed faith and confidence in our Holy Redeemer.

In his work upon the West Indies, Joseph John Gurney carefully reviews the state of the colony as it had come under his own observation in the course of this visit. Freely admitting that the total produce had, to some extent, decreased, with the change from slavery to freedom; and that such decrease was obviously to be traced

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to a corresponding diminution in the quantity of labour, he proceeds to remark:—

But here comes the critical question; the real turning point. To what is this diminution in the quantity of labour owing? I answer deliberately, but without reserve, "*mainly* to causes which class under slavery, and not under freedom." It is, for the most part, the result of those impolitic attempts to force the labour of free men, which have disgusted the peasantry, and have led to the desertion of many of the estates. * * * In the meantime, the imports of the island are rapidly increasing; trade improving; the towns thriving; new villages rising in every direction; property much enhanced in value; well-managed estates productive and profitable; expenses of management diminished; short methods of labour adopted; provisions cultivated on a larger scale than ever; and the people, wherever they are properly treated, industrious, contented, and gradually accumulating wealth. Above all, education is rapidly spreading; the morals of the community improving; crime in many districts disappearing; and Christianity asserting her sway, with vastly augmented force, over the mass of the population. Cease from all attempts to oppose the current of justice and mercy; remove every obstruction to the fair and full working of freedom; and the bud of Jamaica's prosperity, already fragrant and vigorous, will soon burst into a glorious flower.

Their journey of investigation closed with a visit to Spanish Town, the seat of the government. The colonial legislature was now assembled, and they took the opportunity of listening to one of the debates, and of calling upon Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Governor, with whom they enjoyed the privilege of long and free conversation.

"Like ourselves," writes Joseph John Gurney, "he had just returned from a tour of inspection in other parts of the island. It was, therefore, a great satisfaction to us, to find that he had

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imbibed the same convictions as we had, respecting the impropriety of mixing up the questions of rent and wages, and of all attempts to compel the labour of free men; that he rejoiced as much as ourselves in the rapid increase of villages of independent negro settlers; and that he fully concurred with us as to the most efficacious modes of ensuring the continuous labour of the people on the estates of their former masters.

* * * * * *

"At the governor's table in the evening, we met most of the principal officials of the island—the chief Justice, the bishop, the attorney general, the advocate general, the colonial secretary, several members of the council, &c. We believed it right to comply with the governor's kind request, that we should be present on the occasion. Nothing could be more friendly than the treatment which we met with from the company. The dinner was moderate, though handsome; temperance was strictly maintained, and the conversation was rational and agreeable. We took our leave at night, under feelings of Christian love and regard for all present. May they remember that for public as well as private men, the law of righteousness is the *only* law of safety and of peace!

"On the following day we returned to Kingston, where we found our friends just arrived, [in the Whitmore,] from Santa Cruz, and with them, Miguel Cabrera de Nevares, Governor of Madrid, who had been lately acting as Commissioner from the Queen of Spain, in the revisal of the municipal laws of the Spanish West Indian Colonies. Our friends had taken him up at St. John's, Porto Rico, with a view of affording him a conveyance to Havana.

"This circumstance turned out to be of no small importance to myself. For, after the Spanish consul at Kingston, full of the fears so natural to the abettors of slavery, had positively refused me a passport for Cuba, and had even written to the captain-general of that island, erroneously representing me as the president of the Anti-slavery Society, our friend Cabrera induced him to alter his letter; and afterwards, by his personal influence, procured me a

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quiet landing, and polite reception at Havana. Thus had we again to acknowledge that superintending hand of our heavenly Father, which provides for all the needs of those who desire to serve him.

"At Kingston I was occupied for a short time in carrying through the press a small pamphlet, addressed to the planters, and entitled Reconciliation recommended to all parties in Jamaica. The object of this address was to show the absolute identity of interest which now subsists among the planters, the labourers, and the abolitionists; and to call upon them all to unite, heart and hand, on just and salutary principles, in promoting the prosperity of this noble colony. We have since had the satisfaction of learning that it was well received by all parties.*

"Our last day in Jamaica was the first of the week, 3rd mo., 29th. Great is the privilege of one day in seven, expressly set apart for the purpose of rest and worship. For ourselves, we felt it to be salutary to cease from the investigation of secular points, however interesting, and again to unite with our fellow-men, in drawing near in spirit to the Fountain of every blessing. We held our morning meeting in one of the Baptist chapels; the congregation, chiefly black, was deeply serious, and when the subject of the afflictions of Africa arose before us, the feeling of the people became intense. Many of them are awakened to a lively interest in the religious welfare of the people from whom they spring. The rising of this spirit of love and zeal on behalf of the land of their forefathers, has been one of the blessed accompaniments of their freedom. In the afternoon we again met in the Wesleyan meeting-house, a vast assembly of persons of all ranks and classes; and, after once more pressing upon their attention those fundamental principles, in the maintenance of which the true church of Christ, of every name, country, and colour, is one body, we took a last solemn leave of Jamaica and her inhabitants. The next morning we parted from our English friends, who continued for the present on the island, went on board the ship Whitmore, and, as soon as wind and tide permitted, set sail for Havana."

* See Appendix C, at the end of the Winter in the West Indies, pp. 236—252.

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The voyage to Havana occupied upwards of a week.

"Baffling winds and calms detained us," writes Joseph John Gurney, "for two or three days; our last pig and fowl had been eaten; we were beginning somewhat seriously to long for the land, when, one delightful evening, a favourable breeze sprang up, and brought us, in full sail, past the Moro Castle and Lighthouse, into the port of Havana. It was the 9th of the 4th month. The scene was very animating and beautiful. The Moro is built on a dark rock, on the left of the entrance; on a hill above it stand the Cabanas, a fort of prodigious dimensions, in which is stationed a large body of Spanish soldiers. Before us lay the wide-spreading old city, said to contain one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants; a few green hills were seen in the distance, and when we had passed the Moro, the land-locked port full of shipping, including three British men of war, and surmounted by some handsome public buildings, was suddenly opened to our view. It is a port of great resort and traffic, far exceeding, in this respect, any other in the dominions of Spain. With the exception of the Governor of Madrid, we continued on board for the night; and early the next morning received a notice, that we were all permitted to land without undergoing any of the usual formalities. The British Consul, Charles Tolmé, came on board to pay his respects to some of our passengers. I found that he was an old friend of mine, whom I had not seen for thirty years. He gave me a hearty welcome, and accompanied me, on our landing, to the Government House, as I wished to pay my respects to the Prince of Anglona, the Captain General of Cuba. Our friend Cabrera had already conveyed to him a letter of introduction which I had brought with me from the Governor of Jamaica; and I considered that an early call was due to him from a friend to the slaves and a Christian minister, whom he had so kindly permitted to land, at all hazards. The Prince, who is one of the old nobility of Spain, is a person of small stature, and by no means imposing in his appearance, but of good talents and liberal politics. He received us with great politeness, and even apologized to our consul for my

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having been refused a passport in Jamaica. He spoke French fluently, and talked to us for a few minutes in a friendly manner. No opportunity offered for conversation on important topics, and we soon retired."

The Journal thus continues the narrative:—

4th mo., 16*th*. I was much with my old friend Charles Tolmé, the British consul, and his wife and family; visited Captain Hawkins, of the Romney, and James Kennedy, judge of the joint commission court; saw the slavers now in the harbour; visited the baracoons, as well as the prison and other public institutions; obtained a great deal of valuable information, and am thankful that I have been permitted to visit Havana. We returned to our vessel on first day evening, and sailed [for Savannah, in Georgia,] on second day morning.

On their voyage to Savannah, they were overtaken by a violent storm:—

About eight o'clock in the evening [of the 18th,] we observed some dark clouds over the horizon, and summer-like lightning playing to the north and west; and the moon soon after rose of a blood red colour. For some time we imagined that the clouds were gradually dispersing, and we hoped that the electric fluid which was much diffused through the atmosphere, would afford us only a succession of beauties to admire. But after about two hours had elapsed, these hopes were annihilated. The clouds met over our heads, and veiled the moon in deep darkness: the rain poured down in torrents; the ship flew before the wind; and awful flashes of forked lightning, with thunder immediately following, gave ample proof that the weapons of "heaven's artillery" were nigh at hand—even at our doors. Never before had we witnessed such a war of the elements; but our skilful captain had foreseen our trouble, and the well-prepared ship, with her smallest amount of canvass, moved along steadily. The discharges of lightning, however, and crashes of thunder, became

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more and more tremendous; when suddenly the vessel received a terrible shock. Almost all the sailors were knocked down, and, as soon as they could find their feet, rushed into the cabin for safety; one was dragged in, lightning-struck, whether to live or die we knew not. The captain himself received a stroke which left black traces on his legs. Either a blazing rope, or the appearance of it in electric fluid, was seen falling on the deck; a violent smell of sulphur assailed us; both the upper and lower cabins were filled with smoke, and it was the general belief and cry, that the ship was on fire. At the same time the cook ran into the cabin, and told us that the hold of the ship (for we were in ballast) was filling rapidly with water. Although our large company was preserved in a good measure of quietness, we could no longer conceal from ourselves that we were now in circumstances of extreme danger. But beyond this we were not permitted to pass. The ship was searched, and no fire was discovered; the water in the hold was found to have flowed only from the hatchway; the sulphurous smell and smoke gradually vanished; the sky became clear; the moon regained her ascendancy; our poor stricken sailor began to recover; and we were left in quiet possession of ourselves, body and mind unhurt. The next morning we detected the effects of the lightning. The sails were pierced with holes, some boxes were demolished, a considerable piece of timber was forced out of the deck, the main-mast was cracked, and the main-top-gallant and royal-yards shivered. Surely we had cause for humble thankfulness to the God of nature and of grace—the controller of storms, and the preserver of men.*

From his Journal:—

At Savannah, Georgia, 4th mo., 22nd. We arrived here in safety on second day the 20th, after experiencing great danger at sea from a violent thunder storm on the night of the 18th, in which our ship was struck with lightning, and for some time was supposed to be on fire; but we were mercifully protected,

* Winter in the West Indies, p. 227—229.

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and, after some trial of our faith, delivered from our danger. The next morning, (first day,) we held a meeting on deck; both passengers and crew were gathered together in much solemnity, and I hope a serious impression was made on all our minds. In the evening, there was again every prospect of a tempest, but the weather cleared. It was very pleasant to arrive on the American shores in safety, and we are permitted to reap the reward of peace. I find myself happy in my quiet bed-chamber, opposite a grove of trees in the square; and certainly feel much more fit for this seclusion, than for a third time attending the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia.

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CHAPTER XXXV.

1849. ÆT. 52—53.

SAVANNAH; CHARLESTON; SECOND VISIT TO WASHINGTON; INTERVIEWS WITH THE PRESIDENT, J. C. CALHOUN, HENRY CLAY, &C.; NEW YORK AND NEW ENGLAND YEARLY MEETINGS; LETTER TO HIS CHILDREN; VOYAGE HOME; EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL.

JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY's labours in America were now drawing to a close. He had looked forward with much interest to being once more present at the Yearly Meeting of Friends at Philadelphia; but circumstances, over which he had no control, prevented him from reaching that city in time to accomplish that object. Whilst at sea, on his voyage to Havana, in allusion to this subject, he wrote in his Journal:—

4th mo., *9th.* I have passed through some hours of conflict, in times of calm, in the view of Philadelphia; but during the past night, some relief has been experienced from this prospect. I have compared the peculiar fetters of mind which I have long felt respecting that Yearly Meeting, to those which I once endured in reference to the parliamentary prospect. Oh! the inexpressible relief which I felt when, in one midnight hour, those fetters were unexpectedly broken, and I was left free from the concern, ready for work in the depth of Spitalfields. Certainly I feel more happiness in the view of not being present at Philadelphia, than I have hitherto done. I can look back on my exercises and labours there with satisfaction; not having, so far as I know, withheld

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any part of the message committed to me. Thus I hope I may feel that my work in America is pretty much done; and that, after having accomplished what remains of service in the cause of Africa and her descendants, and attended the Yearly Meetings of New York and New England, I may return to my home and family in peace.

From one of his letters:—

We were [detained] a whole week at Savannah, before the steamboat was ready to convey us to Charleston; and certainly it was a week of no small interest to ourselves. In the course of a few days, we formed an acquaintance with several of the gentry of the place, who treated us with great civility; and some of the evenings which we spent in their houses, were, I trust, occupied in a manner calculated to leave a profitable impression. We received some very kind attentions from a gentleman of the name of Schmitz, a timber merchant, whom I had formerly met in Virginia. He is in possession of a collection of costly books and valuable manuscripts, such as would do credit to the Dibdins and Hebers of our own country. It is one of the few good private libraries that I saw in America.

* * * * *

Savannah contains upwards of 7500 inhabitants, of whom more than one half are slaves. We had made our arrangements for a public meeting, to be held at eight o'clock one evening, and were about to insert our notice in the newspaper; but our purpose was, at that time, frustrated by the sudden diffusion of a report, that I had come thither from the West Indies, as an "anti-slavery spy." It produced no small excitement; and we were assured that the meeting could not be held without endangering the peace of the town, and probably our own lives. We had been previously warned by a missionary from Jamaica, who came from these parts, that we could not visit Savannah with any degree of safety, a warning which seemed now likely to be verified. But all turned out well at last. The nature of our gospel mission was explained, the report gradually subsided, and two large public

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meetings were held in succession—the latter on the first day of the week, with nearly 2000 people. It was a satisfactory occasion; and the next morning we left the place, under feelings of sincere regard and affection towards many of its inhabitants. Certainly we are bound to acknowledge that they treated us with great civility and kindness.

From Savannah Joseph John Gurney proceeded, by way of Charleston, to Washington.

Washington, fourth day evening, 5th mo., 6th. It is under feelings of much peace and thankfulness that I find a quiet settlement here this night, after a safe journey by sea, land, and river, of 650 miles from Savannah, propelled the whole way by steam. How abundant, O Lord, are thy mercies, praised be thy holy name! We arrived at Charleston on third day evening last, the 29th. Our stay there was, I hope, productive of good. We found excellent quarters at the New Hotel; were kindly received by Richard Howland and Benjamin Hussey; also James M. Carter, Dr. Post, Henry L. Pinckney, (the Mayor,) and others. Notwithstanding sundry reports raised about me as an abolitionist, way was made for a good visit to the Orphan Asylum; and for three large public meetings: on sixth day evening at the Trinity Methodist chapel; and on the first day at the Orphan Asylum chapel in the afternoon, and at Dr. Post's "circular church," at eight in the evening. We had previously held our morning meeting with about thirty people, at dear old Daniel Latham's, a Friend, though not a member, aged ninety. They were all good times. On second day, after speaking with the Mayor, Mahlon Day and I, accompanied by Richard Howland, visited the Marine Hospital, which was in excellent order; (supported, like all similar institutions in this country, by the sailors themselves;) the county jail, very bad; there we found two negroes condemned to be hanged in two months for robbery; the negro jail; where the negroes are confined and punished by their masters almost *ad libitum*;—a miserable spectacle; next the workhouse,

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and wretched lunatic asylum. On our return, a call on Judge O'Neal, of Newbury, where there is still a little meeting of Friends. Letter written for the information of others, respecting the working of freedom in the West Indies: we parted from our friends at Charleston in peace on second day.

Fifth day. My two young Friends and I have been enjoying a little quietness before the Lord this morning, after reading Col. i and ii. On the review of my long, long pilgrimage, up to the present time, my soul is, I trust, bowed before the Shepherd of Israel in humble gratitude, for his long-continued and most undeserved mercies; and my prayers are offered, though in much weakness, that he may be pleased to permit me to finish this course with joy, and to restore me to my family and friends in peace.

First day, noon. The way has so far remarkably opened here at Washington, for those communications which I was desirous of making on the subject of West Indian freedom, to several of the leading men of this country; Daniel Webster, John Forsyth, (the Secretary of State,) J. C. Calhoun, a highly interesting interview,—Henry Clay, (from whom I parted in much friendship,) and the President himself. It is more than I could have ventured to hope for, and an inexpressible relief and comfort to my own mind.

From Washington he wrote

TO HIS CHILDREN.

Seventh day, 5th mo., 9th. Mahlon Day and myself dined yesterday at the house of an old lady named Tudor, and her daughter, the wife of Commodore Stewart, the mother and sister of our friend, Emma Gardiner. There, besides the Gardiners, we met General Miller, who has been long in Mexico, and various parts of South America; a modest, well-informed gentleman; also John Forsyth, the Secretary of State, a remarkably agreeable, elderly person, with much appearance of talent and thought about him, and deeply fraught with politics. In a *tête á tête* conver-

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sation with him in the evening, I contrived to put him in possession of the whole case of West Indian freedom, as far as it had passed under our notice, and he gave me an excellent hearing. He is from Georgia, and thoroughly accustomed to slaveholding notions. This morning we have been enabled to do an admirable stroke of work in the same line. At ten o'clock we called on our friend Holmes, who took us to his favourite political leader, J. C. Calhoun, who gave us a polite and friendly reception. I wish you could see Calhoun. He is about fifty-seven, I should suppose, of middle stature, with pale face, prominent forehead, expressive nose, lips, and chin, and eyes dark, deep, and penetrating. After a little preparatory talk on climate, health, &c., we came to the "fight of liberty." I told him that we had been passing the winter in the West Indies, and that I wished to be permitted an opportunity of laying before one, whose character I knew as a lover of truth, and a deep thinker and reasoner, the results of our calm observations of the state of those islands. He said he had nothing in view but truth, and should like to hear me. I then entered succinctly on the detail, giving him evidence upon evidence of my five grand points. 1st, that the liberated negroes are working well on the sugar and coffee estates; under which head I explained the case of Jamaica. 2nd, that the staple articles are produced more cheaply under freedom than under slavery. 3rd, that landed and other real property in the islands has risen, and is rising in value. 4th, that there is a corresponding increase in the comforts of the labouring population, evinced particularly in the doubling of the imports; and 5th, that there is an equal progress in the morals of the community, both coloured and white. He fixed his black eye upon me, and listened with the greatest attention. After I had concluded; to my great satisfaction, he freely admitted the truth of my whole case; confessing, without reserve, the superior pecuniary advantages of freedom to slavery, but ascribing the safety of the experiment in Jamaica to its dependence on the superior power of England; after which he opened his fire upon me, as it related to the political aspects of the case. It was a rapid, declamatory

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argument, vivid, acute, and with the appearance of being closely reasoned. He began by cross-questioning me as to the probable political ascendency of the blacks in Jamaica; and then, turning to his own country, endeavoured to show that the whites and blacks were so distinct, as races, that one must rule the other; that where the blacks preponderated, they would infallibly, in case of emancipation, become the masters of the whites; and that where the numbers were matched, there would, in the nature of things, arise a bloody struggle, which would end in the destruction of one of the races. I observed, that if the principles of the gospel were permitted to prevail, all jealousy and discord between races and parties would cease; and all might work on together in safety and harmony; the political influence of each individual and each race depending, in the meantime, on the acquisition of property; and, while measured by property, safe in its nature. Our friend Holmes, Clay of Alabama, and other southerners, who were present, seemed delighted at the pouring forth of their leader; and were ready to cry *Io triumphe!* For my own part I was equally pleased with his having admitted my whole case. I said it had been a treat to me to hear J. C. Calhoun reason, and that I would not attempt to answer him; at any rate, not without previous reflection. So we parted in peace and friendship.

Holmes then took us to call on the speaker, R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, whom we found in his private apartment in the Capitol. He is a modest, pleasing young man, and seemed to lend a willing ear to so much of the statement as we had time to give. We agreed to call upon him again; and, having parted from our friend Holmes, proceeded to the lodgings of Henry Clay, whom we found at home, and who gave us a very kind and friendly reception. He is farther advanced in years than Calhoun; with abundance of straight greyish hair, and a countenance of great intelligence, softened by the obvious touches of benevolence. He mentioned my former visit to Washington as remembering it well, and then poured forth an encomium upon Friends, and a strain of declamation against the northern abolitionists; after

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which, with his full permission, I began my West Indian statement, and calmly went through it, bringing it to a close without any interruption from him. He gave me a willing-hearted hearing, and seemed to derive real pleasure from the information. After he had given us sundry reasons why emancipation is impossible in America, or to be effected only in the course of centuries, we rose to take our leave. Our next visit was at the "White House;" our second call, as previously arranged, on the President; Mahlon Day and Samuel Parsons, jun., with me, as in all our previous calls. We were introduced immediately, and found him in his receiving room, with Carroll, the Governor of Tenessee, and another gentleman. He understood the object of our visit, and allowed me quietly and plainly to lay before him our whole story. I endeavoured to make it as perspicuous and pointed as possible; and after going through the several particulars, ended with a brief but full recapitulation. He gave me his entire attention, acknowledged that the statement was clear and satisfactory, confessed that the subject was one of great interest, and promised to give us another opportunity of conversing with him on the case of Cuba, and the foreign slave trade. We then took a respectful leave, and returned to our hotel in much peace.

Second day morning, 5th mo., 11th. After our interesting morning's work last seventh day, I was glad to rest during the afternoon. In the evening we went to the Capitol, to attend the National Convention on Education. Dr. Bache, the President of Girard College, Philadelphia, was in the chair; and members of Congress, from different parts of the Union, gave an account of the state of education in their respective states. Large supplies from the public purse are applied to the purpose in most of the states; a measure rendered easy in America by the absence of an establishment, and the evenness of the sects. Being called upon by Dr. Bache, I spoke shortly on popular education in England, and on the importance of a diligent daily use of the Holy Scriptures in the schools. In this respect, America is at present notoriously defective.

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Our sabbath yesterday was a very quiet one. We held our meeting in our own chamber, with a few of our Whitmore shipmates, who are now at Washington; and believe we all felt the refreshment of it. In the evening we joined a large circle at Tillinghurst's, member of Congress, from Providence, Rhode Island, where we met several congress men, their ladies, &c. I read to them part of the Epistle to the Philippians, and was afterwards enabled to address them on a variety of subjects suggested by that epistle, I hope with Christian plainness. I may venture to say, that it was under some measure of that influence which can alone qualify for such a work.

Second day afternoon. This morning we have again been paying our respects to the Speaker, in his private apartment at the Capitol, and finishing our West Indian story with him. We just sounded him as to the possibility of our having the use of the Hall of Representatives for the public telling of the same story; but it did not seem that it could be arranged. I fear the sensitiveness which prevails on the subject of slavery, must prevent any public measure of the kind. If so, I must again content myself with pamphlet writing.

Fourth day evening. After our conversation with the Speaker on second day morning, we found our way, first into the Representatives' Hall, and next into the Senate Chamber. We were kindly permitted access to the floor of each house; and you would have been amused to see me quietly seated among these patriot debaters in the lower house, as if I had been one of their number. It is a better House of Commons than I had imagined; but their debates are diffuse and long-continued, and at times the members are pugnacious enough.

In the Senate we were allowed, by special favour, to occupy seats in a circular gallery which surrounds the house in immediate contact with the seats of the senators. We listened for some time to a lively debate on granting a pension to the widow (aged 94) of the American officer who was the first to fall in the revolutionary war. Colonel Preston, of South Carolina, spoke on the subject with uncommon pathos, force, and elegance. In the

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evening, S. Parsons, jun. and I walked down to President square, to call on our friends the Gardiners, who were going away the next morning; and we accompanied them to the house of Joel R. Poinsett, the Secretary at War, who is one of the able men of this country. There we spent an agreeable evening, and I agreed to call on him at his office, to talk over the West Indies.

On third day evening we passed an hour agreeably with J. Quincy Adams, that vivacious old man of 76, who still makes long speeches in the house, and surprises every one with the extent and accuracy of his information, and the undying fires of his zeal. He was deeply interested by our narrative, and entered into a good discussion with us on the Cuba slave trade.

To-day has been decidedly interesting. After breakfast we called again on Daniel Webster, showed him my Jamaica sketches, as illustrative of the effect of freedom, and talked over the whole case of American participation in the African slave-trade. His intelligence and evident amiability are very attractive. From him we proceeded to Poinsett, who received us and our story gladly, though himself a southerner from Carolina. He has been an extensive traveller, and has the reputation of much science and erudition. We then called on John Forsyth, the Secretary of State, with whom we conversed upon the African slave-trade. He was kind to us; but apparently not so well disposed to the discussion of the subject as Poinsett and some others. The rest of the morning was spent in the Senate, where we heard an excellent speech from Crittenden, of Kentucky, on the bankrupt laws, and a few sentences from Webster; and lastly, in pursuance of a very friendly invitation, we have been dining with Henry Clay. He is a person whom we cannot help liking, and even loving; there is so much of kindness and good humour about him.

Sixth day morning, 5th mo., 15th. Our visit to the "White House" yesterday was satisfactory; so far as it enabled us to cast our burden from our own shoulders, and lay it at the feet of those who *can* carry it, with good effect, if they *will*. We were kindly received by the President; Woodbury, the Secretary of the

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Treasury, and Paulding, the Secretary of the Navy, being with him. We stated the case of Cuba and of American participation in the abominations of the slave-trade; and suggested that a mutual right of search might be granted, with restrictions to the coast of Africa, without derogating from the high feeling (we might have said the national pride) of the Americans. The President heard us with attention, and apparent kindness and respect. In the evening we spent a highly pleasant hour or two with Samuel Southard, senator from New Jersey, one of the first men of this country, and his son-in-law, Ogden Hoffman, of the lower house. They are both right-minded, and particularly agreeable; of one mind with us respecting slavery and the slave trade. The chaplain of the House, Dr. Bates, of his own accord, offered to make way for us next first day morning; and the Speaker having given his consent, we are now looking forward to one more public meeting with the Congress of America.

This afternoon, after a morning in the House of Representatives and Senate, we have been visiting Henry Fox, our ambassador. He is a person of singular habits—turning night into day, and *vice versâ*—but of decided acuteness and talent, and a true and feeling man on the subject of slavery. I was well pleased with our discussion. I suggested to him the above-mentioned plan of restricting the "right of search" to the coast of Africa, which he quite approved; but has little hope that Congress would ever agree to the measure, however limited or modified. We talked about slavery in this country, and I was glad to hear him express his opinion, that the movements of the Anti-Slavery Societies of America will, in the end, be productive of good. He is the nephew of Charles James Fox, and, whatever may be his infirmities, I must give him the credit of sharing in the integrity, good sense, and kindness of heart which distinguished his uncle.

First day morning, 5th mo., 17th; one o'clock. With much fear and trembling did I ascend the steps of the Capitol, my very heart faint within me; and, after having been led to search the length and breadth of the question, "What think ye of Christ?"

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I return from it with ease and quietness. We had a crowded and most attentive assemblage, amongst the rest, Clay of Kentucky, Clay of Alabama, Forsyth, J. Q. Adams, Wyse, Hoffman, J. C. Calhoun, and others of "the intellectual nobility" of the land. I ended with strong appeals to the law of righteousness, as the true guide to sound national policy, as well as private virtue. There was a solemn silence at the close of the meeting, after which many took a warm and affectionate leave of us. * * *

"Soon afterwards," he continues in another letter, "I took my last leave of Washington. A public meeting had been previously appointed, for that evening, at Baltimore. Under such circumstances we could not hesitate to avail ourselves of the afternoon rail car. A respectable assembly was collected at the Baptist chapel, in the latter city, to unite with us in our worship; and thus a second occasion of rather peculiar religious solemnity brought this sabbath day to its close."

The attendance of the ensuing Yearly Meetings of New York and New England, was now the principal object that pressed upon Joseph John Gurney's mind before leaving America. At Washington Henry Clay had suggested to him the desirability of throwing before the public the results of his inquiries and observations in the West Indies, in reference to slavery and the working of emancipation. This idea accorded with his own view, and he now applied his few remaining hours of leisure in America to this object; presenting his narrative in a series of letters addressed, with his full permission, to Henry Clay himself. This little Work, already several times referred to, was soon afterwards published under the title of a Winter in the West Indies, and was widely circulated both in England and America.

From his Journal, after attending the Yearly Meeting at New York:—

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Joshua Kimber's, Flushing, 6th mo., 5th. My return certificate was brought in on fifth day last week, and adopted with much renewed expression of consent. I spoke at some length in the Yearly Meeting, on domestic religion, and on slavery. It ended in dignified solemnity, this day week. On seventh day afternoon, after settling affairs, I came to this place exhausted, panting for quietness; and have been busily engaged, under this peaceful roof, in writing my familiar letters to Henry Clay.

Having proceeded to New England, he continues:—

Newport, [Rhode Island,] 6th mo., 19th. We are this day come to the close of a highly favoured Yearly Meeting. On first day week, at New York, we had an excellent united meeting with Thomas and E. Robson; and I made a last call on dear Daniel Wheeler, at whose bedside I was very shortly engaged in prayer. Afterwards, in the solemn and sweet afternoon meeting, I had to pray for him and his family publicly. Spent the rest of the week at Samuel Parsons', Flushing, and wrote my book, ninth Letter inclusive. On sixth day morning last, voyage by Massachusetts steamer to Newport; we arrived here safe on seventh day morning. Public meetings, morning and afternoon of first day, peculiarly solemn and satisfactory. In the Yearly Meeting, (of New England,) my return certificate was granted, notwithstanding a little appearance of the contrary spirit, with remarkably full concurrence: so also in the women's meeting. In the early part of this Yearly Meeting we received the sad tidings of Daniel Wheeler's death. I have borne a testimony to the grace of God in him, in both meetings. I doubt not his being at rest with the Lord. Nothing can have exceeded the love and kindness of Friends, and we parted this morning in the flowings of a holy cordiality. Blessed be the name of the Lord.

FROM DR. CHANNING.

Newport, R.I., June 26th, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,

After you left me the other day, I regretted that I had not expressed to you in stronger language, my earnest desire

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that you would publish among us your observations on the working of emancipation in the West Indies. There has been, and still is, in our community, a shocking mixture of incredulity and indifference on this subject. I trust we are not given up to hardness of heart; and if anything can rouse us from our insensibility, it must be the testimony of men well-known and respected, and whose judgment and motives are above suspicion. Your extensive travels and labours have made you an object of interest and confidence through a considerable part of the country; and very many would listen to your report. Allow me then to say, that it seems to me, you can render important service to the cause of freedom and humanity, by giving to the public here, the results of your observations. I remember with much pleasure our intercourse, and am truly grateful for the cheering light you communicated.

Very truly, your friend,

WILLIAM E. CHANNING.

Joseph John Gurney's passage to England was taken in the Roscius, which was expected to sail from New York at the latter end of the seventh month. The interval was spent partly at Providence, where he completed his letters to Henry Clay, and partly in farewell visits to Philadelphia and New York. In the prospect of his return home, mingled as it was in his mind with a feeling of uncertainty as to the event of the voyage and his own state of health, he thus intimately pours out his heart

TO HIS CHILDREN.

Newport, Rhode Island, 6th mo., 21st, 1840.

* * * Whether I am permitted to return to you or not, I look back with satisfaction and thankfulness to the nearly three years which I have spent on this side the Atlantic, and that on two grounds: first, the preservation which you have so mercifully experienced in my absence; and secondly, the evident efficacy

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(through the divine blessing) of the gospel mission in which I have been engaged.

Many seals to my ministry have been graciously afforded me in individual cases; and many tokens, on a larger scale, that my labours in the gospel have been the means of clearing the understanding of some, and of impressing their feelings respecting the fundamental and cardinal doctrines of Christianity. You know that I am very infirm in myself, and I have at sundry times been led publicly to confess myself to be one of the most unworthy of the Lord's servants; therefore boasting is, and ought to be, far from me. I am humbled in the dust before the Lord, as a poor guilty earthworm, without the smallest hope of salvation, except through the perfect righteousness and efficacious blood-shedding of my holy Redeemer. Yet I enjoy sweet peace in the retrospect of the long and various labours, both in America and the West Indies, into which the Lord has been pleased to lead me; and, even were our pleasant prospects of meeting again on earth never to be realized, I have not the least reason to regret having left my all, for the sake of Jesus Christ and his gospel.

I think my visit has been the means, through mercy, of leading many, especially of the young, to clearer views of the religion of the New Testament, and to a firmer and more intelligent attachment to the principles of our own Society, than they had ever felt before. So far from having at all unsettled their Quakerism, my ministry has been the means, under the divine blessing, of inducing many of them, especially of the young men, to renounce the habits of the world, and, as a token of their allegiance to the Saviour, to adopt the plain dress and language, which unquestionably become our Christian profession. They form an outline which, in the present condition of the church, and of the world, we cannot spare; they serve the important purpose of separating us from associations, amusements, and excitements, which pull the wrong way. They are a check on our natural tendencies to flippancy and vanity, and a bridle on our idle tongues. They are our way (amongst other analogous things) of openly confessing our Lord, and of showing ourselves to be on his

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side; and, above all, they are *humbling; and humiliation is that which we all chiefly want.*

The division of sentiment now so apparent in the Church of England, and the rapid retrograde movements towards Popery of a large proportion of the clergy in America, as well as in England, have been to me very instructive as well as affecting. And useful and valuable as are the Methodists, the Baptists, the Presbyterians, the Moravians, the Independents, &c., in their respective niches, (and of their usefulness I have seen much, both in America and the West Indies,) I am clearly of the mind, from deliberate and extensive observation, that their respective administrations of religion, would never suit those, who, through the tender mercy of our God, have been accustomed to the free, unfettered operations of the Lord's anointing. I charge [you] to abide under it, to live and to move under it, in all things. Sure I am, that this most blessed principle of action, will never open the door for your forsaking the steady maintenance of any of our Christian testimonies, little or great. Never set up your own reasonings against it or over it; but follow it in faith and obedience, and it will keep you in the tenderness and innocence of the Christian life. I entreat you both to persevere in the habits of daily retirement, of the private reading of the Holy Scriptures, and of prayer, much, frequent, fervent prayer, even through the blessed aid of the Holy Spirit, who prayeth for us with groanings that cannot be uttered.

I conclude with the apostolic words, "Love not the world, neither the things which are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, are not of the Father, but of the world: and the world passeth away with the lust thereof: but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever."

At Philadelphia he writes in his Journal:—

7th mo., 9th. Encore ici pour la derniere fois. This morning attended the quiet, solemn week-day meeting at Arch street; in which I had to speak of the immortality of the soul, of the

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happiness of the departed, and of the necessary work of preparation for eternity. Quietness my portion, through mercy, on returning hither.

West Hill, 7th mo., 22nd. I have to record many mercies since I last wrote. The time spent in Philadelphia has, on the whole, been very satisfactory.

On fifth day to Merrion; a blessed little meeting; dined and lodged at Israel W. Morris's; next morning to Haverford; a very satisfactory visit. Last first day, a large and full meeting at the North Meeting-house; a very searching, solemn time. In the evening, a very large meeting at Arch street, for Friends of all the meetings—"If I wash thee not thou hast no part with me." A deeply affecting leave taking. Second day, satisfactory visit to Isaac Collins and his family, in deep affliction from the unexpected death of his son Henry; but there was a good hope respecting him. In the afternoon I took my last leave of my dear friend and helper, H. Paul, and was accompanied by her beloved husband to the steam-boat for Burlington; being permitted to leave Philadelphia in entire peace.

Accompanied by his young friend Alexander S. Taylor, Joseph John Gurney embarked on board the Roscius, on the twenty-sixth of the seventh month.

On board the Roscius, first day morning. Again have I trusted myself on the bosom of the deep, after having accomplished the work in America, and am *homeward bound.* I arrived at New York on fifth day afternoon; many friends seen, and book finished. Dear Richard Mott came in from the country; nothing could exceed the love and kindness of Friends. In the evening of sixth day, my last, last meeting in America; well attended by Friends and others, and peculiarly weighty, quiet, and solemn. The next morning, Friends flocked to W. F. Mott's; and two religious sittings took place. The silence was long, and the peaceful solemnity more than I can describe. The Holy Master

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gave us his seal in a pre-eminent manner; and I felt perfectly easy and tranquil. Large were the numbers who accompanied me to the shore, and most of them in the steam-boat to the ship. Lord, do thou graciously help me, sustain, preserve, and comfort me, for thy mercy and truth's sake!

Fifth day morning, 7th mo., 30th. This morning we have had a comfortable opportunity with several of the steerage passengers; and since, a solemn and satisfactory week-day meeting, with my companion, wherein the blessed presence of Jesus, with the "two" was, I trust, made known. I was led to look at the past, the present, and the future; and the result seemed to be

"To thank the Lord for mercies past,
And humbly hope for more."

Seventh day, noon, 8th mo., 1st. This afternoon will complete the week since that memorable, peaceful, tearful parting from my many friends, when I left the steam-boat in New York harbour for this vessel. As it draws to its close, I find myself empty, weak, and poor; yet not otherwise than happy. I suppose we have progressed nearly 800 miles in our course; say one-fourth of our voyage. O Lord, I do desire to present the remainder of my days to thee, as a living sacrifice; and should it please thee to add the fifteen years to my life, as to that of Hezekiah in days of old,—turning as it were the shadow of infirmity in mind and body back as a sign—may such a period, whether longer or shorter, be devoted to thy cause on earth, in the pure strength and wisdom of thy own Holy Spirit!

While fresh evidences multiply upon me, that God permits grace to flow through many very different administrations, I increasingly love and approve the simplicity, solidity, and purity of Christianity, as held by Friends. First, as it relates to my own welfare. In the saving of the spiritual, invisible, and immortal soul, the application of the grand truths of the New Testament, under the immediate and most precious influences of the Holy Ghost, seems all that is required. It is the appropriation

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by faith of a most glorious scheme of wisdom, holiness, and benevolence. * * * I own no priesthood but the priesthood of Christ; no supper in worship, but in spiritual communion with him and his followers at his own table, in his kingdom; no baptism, as an introduction to the hopes and citizenship of the Christian believer, but that of the Holy Ghost. I heartily crave and pray that the blessed principle in me of light, and life, and love, even the perceptible, operative influence of the Spirit of Christ, may consummate its victory over the native infirmities of my own heart.

Greyheaded as I am, I am at times haunted by the *shadows* of old corruptions, and Satan still plays at seasons on the irritability of my nervous system, fills me with strange fears, and bids words of murmuring, (in which I *believe* I have no part,) to dart like lightning through my almost morbidly sensitive mind. But, through all, I am permitted to feel an increasing settlement in Christ; and in the view of eternity, I can, with a degree of confidence, commit myself to the marvellously comprehensive mercies of my God, in him—my Redeemer. I rejoice in the belief that I have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins. I am most happy that I have never been seduced into any unworthy, heterodox notions of the person and character of my blessed Saviour. It hath, indeed, pleased the Father, that in him should all fulness dwell. Truly, he is my *all in all.* Next to this view of Christ, as the Foundation of all my hopes, and inseparably connected with it, is the experience, most graciously permitted me, (especially in connexion with the American mission,) of the *guidance* of the Holy Spirit; I mean the developments of truth itself, in my own mind, in reference to my own course of duty, which I have wonderfully found to be also the course of safety,—the arrangements of Divine Providence having so far memorably coincided with the internal pointing of his holy hand. With these views, and with this experience, what can I do but go boldly and wash, from day to day, in the fountain of the atoning blood of Jesus, reverently depending on

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his all-availing intercession, and commit myself, without reserve, to that unseen, but not unfelt government, under which I may yet "make all things according to the pattern showed" me "in the Mount." O Lord God, omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient, infinitely abounding in wisdom and grace, sanctify me wholly in body, soul, and spirit; stamp thine own image upon me; and prepare me for a glorious eternity!

The second branch of the subject, now in deep seriousness before me, is usefulness to others. Had I been placed in any other religious society, I must have been either a layman; or, in the milder sense of the word, a priest. I am satisfied that, in neither capacity, could I have enjoyed the same scope for usefulness as I now do under an administration which levels this distinction, and allows the liberty of the Spirit in its full and just action. So it is enjoyed in my case. I do not consider it to be so, sufficiently, by some of my brethren and sisters. I think the fault of our society, in its present condition, is the predominance of fear, prejudice, and system, over this blessed liberty; a remark which I apply with a full feeling of the value of a well-ordered Christian government and discipline in the church. *But we want more faith in that anointing for which we plead.* God grant that it may spread, abound, and prosper! As it is, while my secularities afford me many large opportunities of helping others, I am free to go forth and labour, wherever and whenever the Lord is pleased to send me, for the instruction of believers and the salvation of sinners. I humbly trust that he who sent me forth has blessed, and will bless my ministry. He only can give the increase. I pray thee, O most gracious Lord, to give me the hundred-fold on both sides the Atlantic; and may all end, to thy honour and glory, in the perfect and eternal peace of one of the poorest and most unworthy of thy servants!

8th mo., 11*th*. In the afternoon of first day we had a comforting meeting with the steerage passengers; and in the evening I held one, by invitation, in the ladies' cabin. It was, indeed, a favoured day. Since then we have spent two prosperous days;

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the wind favourable, driving us on ten knots in the hour; the scene delightful; the weather fresh, but growing cold; sweet hope of meeting my beloved ones in England increasing as I draw nearer my native shores; my comfortable state-room continues to be a place of waiting and prayer.

8th mo., 15th. We have had a fine sail since I last wrote; continued prosperity in this remarkably favoured voyage has been our portion, in the lovingkindness of our Heavenly Father; though yesterday and last night were attended by some anxiety, as we failed to make Cape Clear, finding ourselves, by an observation at noon, much to the southward of it. Thus we had to run up the channel without our landmarks, though the captain thought he caught a sight of land. I had retired to rest when the pleasant tidings were brought that the Tuskar light was in sight. A good night followed, and this morning we have been enjoying a delightful sail—the Irish and Welsh coast both in sight. We are now about forty miles from Liverpool, and have just taken in a pilot. No account of the arrival of any of the steam-boats. How remarkably has my course been ordered for me, as it relates to sailing in this vessel! How abundant has been the kindness with which the Lord has dealt with the very weakest and most unworthy of his servants! I hope I am, in a good degree, bowed in humble gratitude before him who made heaven and earth. The newspapers brought in by the pilot mention the death of Lord Durham, which I truly feel.

At length arrived at Earlham, he writes:—

My own chamber, 8th mo., 23rd. The wonders of the last week, the flowing in of peace and pleasure, are almost past journalizing. After the last entry we had to undergo the mortification of being compelled to lay to during the night, as the pilot was afraid of attempting to go over the bar at the midnight high tide; and it was not until ten o'clock on first day morning, the 16th, that we again set sail. In the meantime no storm occurred, no difficulty arose; and we sailed gallantly along the Victoria channel, marked by

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buoys and light ships; weathered the Black Rock; and, with the joint help of a steam-boat and fair wind, landed at the Docks about half-past twelve last first day. The very next night an awful storm occurred, which, being from the west, might have driven our heavy-laden ship on the bar. Thus mercifully and providentially was I again dealt with. My dearest brother Samuel Gurney, and William Forster, my long-tried, long-loved friend, were waiting to receive us; both happy, both in health, bringing good news of all the circle. The meeting was inexpressibly pleasant. We were most kindly received by Isaac and T. Hadwen, at whose house we had so largely drunk of the waters of life, on leaving England. In the evening we attended the usual meeting, which was large and solemn. I was much engaged both in ministry and prayer, showing the practical nature of the principles which we profess. Samuel and I proceeded to London the next morning by the wondrous new railroad. The country looked the picture of green prettiness. We arrived about seven o'clock in the evening; and, on leaving the carriage, I had the great happiness of meeting my own dearest John Henry, with Samuel and Sarah Gurney. Nothing could be more joyous than the meeting with my sister Fry, and all the Upton family and the Buxtons, on our arrival at Upton. Unclouded serenity and perfect ease were my happy lot. Fourth day. Journey to Norfolk in Samuel's coach, with Fowell, Hannah, and our sister Fry; read part of the West Indian book to satisfaction; took the last stage with John Henry on the box; arrived at Earlham about nine o'clock, and was permitted a return home in unclouded peace and joy, meeting my tenderly-beloved Anna well, and most happy. Seventh day. Pleasant Norwich day; easy and comforting development of affairs at the Bank. Notwithstanding all sacrifices, I have been singularly blessed in temporals, during my absence, so that I find myself greatly at my ease.

To-day we have had a large, good meeting at the Gildencroft, in which the signs of the work of divine grace were unfolded, and I am expecting a public meeting this evening: a blessed absence

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of excitement, an unbroken tranquillity, are my happy portion. The broad seal of the Spirit of my God seems conspicuously to rest on the labours, perils, exercises, and engagements of the last three years. The Lord be praised! The Lord alone be praised! "Make a joyful noise unto the Lord, all ye lands; serve the Lord with gladness; come before his presence with singing. Know ye that the Lord he is God; it is he that made us and not we ourselves; we are his people and the sheep of his pasture. Enter into his gates with thanksgiving and into his courts with praise. Be thankful unto him, and bless his name. For the Lord is good. His mercy is everlasting, and his truth endureth unto all generations."

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

1840—1841. ÆT. 53.

PUBLICATION OF THE WINTER IN THE WEST INDIES; AFRICAN CIVILIZATION SOCIETY; LETTERS; EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL; ADDRESS ON PEACE; YEARLY MEETING; ENGAGEMENT IN MARRIAGE; VISIT TO PARIS.

THE passing through the press of the English edition of his Winter in the West Indies afforded an agreeable occupation for some of Joseph John Gurney's leisure hours on his return home. Another object which soon engaged his attention was the African Civilization Society, established principally through the instrumentality of his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, with the view of promoting the welfare of the African race. In consequence of the co-operation of this society with the expedition for the Niger, then fitting out by Government for purposes of commerce and discovery, but composed of armed vessels, many sincere friends of the cause, disapproving of the employment, under any circumstances of the apparatus of war, were prevented from lending it their aid. Strongly as Joseph John Gurney was opposed, upon principle, to all war, he thought himself justified in giving the society his active co-operation, relying upon their express words, as stated in the prospectus, "that its objects are and must be *exclusively pacific and benevolent*."*

* See the Letter to Sir T. F. Buxton, prefixed to the English edition of the Winter in the West Indies.

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The following are from his Journal:—

10*th mo.*, 2*nd*. * * * My mind has been quite enough occupied with the subject of the New African Society. The question, in connexion with our Christian testimony against bearing arms, has brought me into deep and serious consideration before the Lord, with a single eye, I hope, to his will in the matter. On a fair view of the case, I think the way is clear for my joining and supporting the institution; but on one point I am expecting further information. May I be preserved near the Fountain of light and life, in all my movements!

10*th mo.*, 21*st*. I have received delightful accounts of the general reception and influence in America of my book on the West Indies; and cheering testimonies at home from Knibb, Sir William Colebrooke, and others; so that I have cause, on the whole, for encouragement, and for the belief that, through all, the Lord is blessing the work of my hands. Without his blessing what am I?

11*th mo.*, 13*th*. Two weeks have elapsed, and I find myself still in health and peace with my children in the deep quietude of Earlham. The first edition of the West Indies sold off; and the numerous reviews, &c., private and public, so far as I have seen, entirely favourable; which I can ascribe only to the sparing mercies of the Lord.

11*th mo.*, 21*st*. On fourth day was our county meeting in the African cause; the best materials for a good meeting I ever saw in Norfolk; an admirable platform; but the Chartists were noisy and turbulent beyond description, and spoiled everything. The Bishop* and myself were the principal objects of their violent opposition and abuse. The disappointment was great to very many. After a fashion, we passed our resolutions and established the society.

I have thought it best publicly to promote the trial of this great experiment on Africa, and have given a large sum to Buxton in

* It will be recollected that the late Bishop Stanley had, at this time, succeeded his venerable predecessor, Bishop Bathurst, in the see of Norwich.

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furtherance of the object. I have done my best to hold up his hands, and my judgment is confirmed as to the course I have taken, on the ground of the vast importance of the object; the armed protection by which it is accompanied being solely the affair of Government, and in no way paid for or promoted by me. After the meeting, the Bishop and many others dined with us at Earlham; a Christian party, which passed off well. I am thankful in feeling this morning peaceful and quiet. The Lord grant that the ensuing winter may be spent consistently with his holy will; and that the year so marked with changes, begun in the West Indies, carried on in America, and now winding up at Earlham, may terminate in peace. May "the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep our hearts and minds through Jesus Christ!"

TO SIR THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON.

Darlington, 12th mo., 18th, 1840.

Truly sorry am I to hear of thy indisposition; I fear we may rather call it illness. Early as well as auspicious be the sailing of the expedition, that the leader of our African cause may, without further delay, consign himself for many a long month to that which he chiefly wants,—absolute intellectual slumber. The utmost stretch of thy mental powers must henceforth be directed to the planting of Runton. Learn to consider thyself of no importance, and be an infant once more, until captain Trotter returns. * * * I am well satisfied with the part which S. G—— has so kindly and nobly taken in the agricultural business. Though I have too many irons in the fire to allow of my being a partner in this farming company, I have entire satisfaction in placing my £1000 to thy account, according to my promise. It is not an investment, but a gift to thee, to be used *ad libitum*, on thy own responsibility, for the benefit of Africa.

* * * * * *

We have general principles plainly laid down in Scripture, and many particular precepts also; but in the application of these to the innumerable turns and occasions of life, we have perpetual need to consult the witness for God in our own hearts, the voice

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of his Spirit heard in the secret of the soul. It is the high privilege of the Christian, as thou well knowest from long experience, to be thus guided. "The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth and no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him." Were I asked what has been the main secret of thy success in the prosecution of thy great public objects, I should say, "A life of prayer, dependence on the providence of God, and childlike faith in the influence and guidance of the Holy Spirit." And, in the view of thy deeply important objects; in the view also of thy whole frame and constitution of mind; not to mention the rough hits and difficulties to which thou art often exposed; I can commend thee to nothing better than the calming, guiding, qualifying touches of the power of God. * * *

As thou art enabled to move under this sacred influence, continually to seek for it with all diligence, and patiently to wait from day to day for the renewal of it, it will, I believe, continue to work out for thee most happy effects. It will clothe thee with the very mantle of gentleness and love towards all who may oppose or thwart thee in thy schemes of mercy. It will enable thee, at frequently recurring seasons, to cease from thy labours of mind, from the whole interior effort of thy philanthropy, and to find thy rest in God. And it will so direct thy counsels for the benefit of mankind, that they will live through every difficulty, and finally triumph over all obstructions. The Lord will establish the work of thy hands; "thy enemies shall see it and be ashamed;" and thy friends shall unite with thee in praising "the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men."

TO SIR CULLING EARDLEY SMITH.

Earlham, near Norwich,
9th mo., 25th, 1840.

DEAR FRIEND,

The pressure of several engagements, mostly of a public nature, has prevented my giving earlier attention to thy letter of the 18th.

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Heartily do I approve the spirit of thy letter, and of the article in the newspaper, but I am not yet a convert to the idea of attempting a *Church* union among Christians of different denominations. I mean a union in congregation or *ecclesiâ*, under a given form or system of church government.

I am a thorough friend to the *Bible Society union*, in which the members of all the churches can join in the furtherance of a common object, without individual compromise; but I have always objected to the notion of turning the Bible Society into a *church*, by applying a doctrinal test, and making the meetings occasions of public worship. Having precisely the same object in view as thyself, I should aim at it, rather on the principle that *all* who love and serve God, and believe in Jesus Christ, (though under different administrations, and varying from each other on minor points,) are members of one true, living, and catholic church, being baptized by one Spirit into one body.

On this ground, love and fellowship ought to abound amongst them, notwithstanding their different positions in the Camp of Israel. As this is the case, though there may be distinct parts, there will be no rents in the seamless garment of Christ.

TO THE BAPTIST MISSIONARIES IN JAMAICA.

Earlham, Norwich, 10th mo., 22nd, 1840.

My dear Friends,

I avail myself of the kindness of our friend William Knibb, to send you a brotherly epistle on the present state of affairs in Jamaica, with especial reference to your peculiar position. I have long been wishing thus to address you, having, from what I myself witnessed, a high sense of your services, and being very anxious that they should not be marred or weakened under the temptations, difficulties, and misunderstandings, so prevalent at the present time. Having borne a very decided public testimony to your character and usefulness, in the work which I have just published, I feel the more at liberty to express my mind to you, in private, with all candour and freedom.

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I will begin with a subject which, secular as it may appear, has an obvious and important bearing on the cause of *freedom versus slavery*. I mean the continued and increased production in Jamaica, of the staple articles of sugar and coffee. Multitudes of persons are impressed with a notion, that although emancipation has answered well, as it relates to the temporal and moral condition of the negro, it is already proved to be a failure, as it regards the production of these articles, the prosperity of the planters, and the exports of the West India colonies. * * *

In my work, I have endeavoured to show that these desponding notions are founded in misapprehension; that the difficulty is, in its nature, temporary; and that, if freedom has its fair operation, the increased growth of the staple articles, beyond that of the days of slavery, will be the certain consequence.

Allow me, my dear friends, to solicit your kind and efficient help towards the verification of this somewhat bold prediction. I beg of you to endeavour to impress on the negroes, their Christian obligations, as cultivators of the soil. I mean the giving of fair, full, and *continuous* work, in return for fair wages. You can easily make them understand how much their steady industry, in this respect, will promote the cause of freedom in other parts of the world. I think this subject ought to be kept carefully in view, *in connexion with the formation of free villages*. And, even if vexatious laws are still imposed and enforced, I believe it will be found a sounder practice, on your parts, to encourage and exhort them to patience and long suffering, and to the return of good for evil, than to open the door for exchanging daily labour on the estates, for a retreat to the mountains. It seems particularly desirable that the free settlements (which, of course, I highly approve) should be formed, as much as possible, in the immediate neighbourhood of sugar and coffee plantations, which would afford the people ample scope for the daily earning of wages. Much, also, will depend on the training of the young mind in your schools, to a knowledge and sense of the obvious truth, that daily labour in the fields is an *honourable* and *desirable* occupation; an occupation which will not only promote the

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temporal welfare of young people, but harmonize well with their religious duties.

The Baptist missionaries in Jamaica have been often called political; the true meaning of which I presume to be, that they have been faithful, and rightly pertinacious in watching over, promoting, and protecting the civil rights of the negroes. For my own part, I hold this to have hitherto been, and still to be, (in subordination to higher objects,) a very important branch of their duties. In the prosecution of it, however, it seems peculiarly desirable to avoid all imprudence and violence; and to seek after the meekness and gentleness which are in Christ, as well as to maintain an honest firmness and plainness. I am inclined to think that Christian appeals on this subject to the local authorities, from your own respectable body, would be a better mode of action, than the public discussion of it in the presence of the negroes.

Intelligent as they are, beyond what most people imagine, they are, at present, but children; their welfare and happiness would be little promoted by their being introduced, even in self defence, into the arena of politics. Their patient forbearance and willing forgiveness of injuries have done wonders for them, and cannot, as I think, be too carefully promoted and maintained. In the meantime, Christian education, going hand in hand with the acquisition of property, will be gradually fitting them for a larger share in the duties and privileges of citizenship. * * *

I observed just now, that "you have *abundance of influence*." And now I hope you will allow me to make a few remarks, in the freedom of Christian friendship, on this very point. The mind of the negro is prone, as you well know, to a peculiar feeling of deference towards the ministers who give up their talents and time to the work of instructing him in the truths of Christianity; and especially towards those ministers of religion who, at the same time, protect and defend his civil rights. This feeling of deference often assumes the form of childlike dependence; and, in the hands of Christian pastors, there comes to be placed a corresponding paternal power.

Now you and I are well aware of the danger which attaches,

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under any form, to what may be described as ecclesiastical domination,—the power of the priesthood. Thinking, as I do, that something analogous to it has, from the peculiar circumstances of the case, devolved upon yourselves, I hope you will allow me, as a Christian brother, to beseech you, in the name of our common Master, to watch and pray, that you may be preserved in *reverent humility* before the Lord. May you be enabled to wean the people from all undue dependence on men; to bring them under the immediate teaching of Christ by his Spirit; to impress upon them the grand truth, that on the mountains, and in the fields, as well as in the Meeting-house, HE is ever near to instruct them in the way that they should go; a swift witness in the conscience against all iniquity; a preacher of righteousness "according to the power of an endless life!"

On commencing another volume of his Journal Joseph John Gurney writes:—

11*th mo.*, 23*rd*. The extensive and arduous pilgrimage in America by land and by sea, has now passed away as a dream. I am at sweet, dear old Earlham, in health and peace; my beloved sister, Rachel Fowler, to whose care over the establishment, during my absence, I am so much indebted, gone for a few months to join her own family circle; Catherine living with us in a favourable state of health and spirits; John Henry and Anna being my daily comfort, and chief friends and companions. John Henry is now partner in the bank, to my effectual relief, and Anna mistress of the household. Our meeting, diminished as it has been of late years, by some secessions, some disownments, and many deaths, is still a *church*, containing, as I believe, living and faithful members; the same remark applies to the Society in Norfolk generally, and, indeed, to the whole body, as I believe, in Great Britain and Ireland; small and scattered, but not forsaken; and still bearing its great testimony to the purity, peaceableness, and spirituality of the gospel dispensation. May it, through infinite condescension and mercy, be yet preserved in that unity wherein is strength!

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TO A FRIEND.

Upton, 12th mo., 7th, 1840.

Never was our little church, and never were its distinguishing principles, more dear to me than they are at present. I wish for no change in its doctrines; none in its Christian testimonies; none in its mode of worship; and I crave that I and my children after me may be enabled to maintain them all, with holy integrity, both in word and deed. This desire is founded on the conviction that the religion professed by our forefathers, and so long cherished by ourselves, is nothing more or less than the religion of the New Testament, "without addition, without diminution, and without compromise." I wish not to be anything better than a Christian, and can heartily subscribe to the lines:—

"Let names, and sects, and parties fall,
And Jesus Christ be all in all."

In looking back, which I do under feelings of very precious *peacefulness*, on the three years spent in America and the West Indies, I cannot tax myself with having given the least countenance to a departure from these views. Wherever my lot has been cast, and in the presence of whatsoever class of my fellow-men, I have, as far as I know, steadily upheld them. My certificates after my arrival in America, were duly received and recorded by all the Yearly Meetings of Friends on that continent, (except Virginia which I did not attend,) both in the select meetings, and in the body at large. Thus was I set at liberty for service, within the limits of each Yearly Meeting, in the acknowledged character of an approved and authenticated minister of the gospel in the Society of Friends; and from *all the six Yearly Meetings* of which I had the opportunity of taking leave, I have since received full certificates of my having, both in ministry and conduct, maintained that character inviolate.

The war which was now raging in Syria, and the threatening of hostilities between France and England, in consequence of the part which this country was taking in it,

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were subjects which at this time painfully affected Joseph John Gurney's feelings.

10*th* *mo.*, 12*th*. The dark gathering clouds of the political hemisphere, indicating approaching war, with a commencement of it (an extremity of folly on our parts!) in the east, have brought very sombre feelings over my mind; but I humbly trust that the tremendous evil of war between France and England will yet be averted. "The remainder of wrath thou wilt restrain."

Whilst these topics were thus agitating the public mind, Joseph John Gurney was induced, at the request of the Committee of the Peace Society, in London—a request, in full accordance with his own feelings—to write a brief "Address to Ministers of the Gospel, and to all Professors of Christianity on the subject of War and Peace," which was soon afterwards published and very extensively circulated. In the present crisis of public affairs, when the nations of Europe are unhappily once more plunging into the horrors of war, the following extracts from this address may not prove unseasonable.

* * * Utterly opposed as warfare is to sound policy and common sense, as well as to that increasingly refined taste and feeling which are at once the mark and the consequence of diffused intellectual cultivation, we are brought home to a confirmed conclusion, that the only sufficient remedy for the evil is *practical Christianity*. * * * The root of this worst of mischiefs is to be found in those wicked lusts and passions which are natural to the heart of man. Never will it be fully cured until that root is *uprooted*,—until man comes under the remedial influence of that holy religion through which the old man, corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, is *put off*, and the new man is *put on*—"created after God, in righteousness and true holiness."

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This is a subject in regard to which Christians of all denominations, and of every country, ought surely to unite their efforts; that a vast moral force may be gradually raised in the world, which shall overbear the opposing flood of wrath, malice, contention, and murder. * * *

There are two views of the subject, which, trite as they are, can scarcely be too much pressed on the attention of the religious public—First, *the Christian law of love;* and secondly, *the sacredness of the life of man.*

Few stronger internal evidences exist of the divine origin of the Religion of the Holy Scriptures, than its law of *love.* "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." * * * All Christians agree that, under the gospel interpretation of the word *neighbour*, is included every individual of every nation—the whole family of man. If, then, we are commanded of the Lord to love all our fellow-men as we love ourselves, it certainly follows that it is unlawful for us to injure them, any more than we would injure ourselves.

This comprehensive law not only includes our enemies, but has a marked and especial reference to them. "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head," (to melt him down, as metals are melted in the fire). "Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good:" Rom. xii, 20, 21. "Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust:" Matt. v, 43—45. The evil and unjust amongst men are the enemies of a perfectly holy God; yet he maketh his rain to fall, and his sun to rise upon them, as well as upon his friends. So we, as "followers of God," and "dear children," are to shower down the blessings of kindness,

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and to lift up the countenance of love, not only on those to whom we are bound by the ties of fellowship or friendship, but on those who defame, persecute, and shamefully entreat us. It is, indeed, a pure and searching law; an elevated principle of action; but the Christian is bound to adopt it by the authority of Scripture, and is enabled to obey it by the grace of God.

Now I think it must be allowed by every sound moralist, that although there are many particular precepts of Scripture which have a specific relation to certain classes of persons, viz., husbands, wives, servants, children, &c., the general principles of the divine law, such as justice, truth and mercy, are of universal applicability to mankind—a remark which obviously includes the Christian law of love. These general principles, and that law in particular comprehend our whole race—every individual human creature who is capable of understanding it; and not merely every individual in a separate capacity, but bodies of individuals—communities, states, and nations. So far as the essential principles of morality extend—and love to God and man is one of the first of them—they ought to govern the public acts of the united multitude just as certainly, and just as strictly, as the private acts of all the individuals of whom it is composed. The observation applies to all kinds of national constitutions; for every form of government is virtually intended to represent the nation at large, and ought clearly to be imbued with the spirit of the nation, so far as that spirit is virtuous; that is, so long as the national will is conformed to the will of God.

Nations, then—under whatsoever form of Government—are bound by sound and unchangeable obligations, to act on the principles of the divine law. Not only must they observe towards each other perfect integrity and justice; but if they would enjoy the unclouded favour of the Lord of the universe, they must seek the welfare and happiness one of another; each nation acting towards other nations as she would that other nations, under similar circumstances, should act towards herself. More especially ought they to adopt the lessons of Christian forbearance, and suffer the King of kings—the once persecuted and lowly, but now

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reigning and glorified Jesus—to teach them to love their enemies, to return good for evil, to overcome evil with good.

To bring the argument now in hand a little more closely home, let us consider the case of the duellist. A gentleman of high general character and reputation is insulted. In the eye of the world his *honour* is sullied. He challenges his adversary, whom a similar false notion of honour impels to the bloody engagement. One of them falls in the fray. At an unexpected moment, the *gentleman* of high repute, blindly following the guidance of worldly honour in the room of Christian principle, becomes—what does he become? a MURDERER. Just so it is with nations, as represented by governments. One nation considers herself, if not injured, at least insulted by another. Her honour is touched; she retaliates with threats, and frowns, and armaments; and soon the honour (as it is called) of the supposed aggressor, is equally involved. Acting like the duellist, on the false notions of worldly honour, in the room of Christian principle, they both fall to murder on a large scale; whole regions are desolated, and blood flows in torrents.

Let us suppose the nation thus described as considering herself to be insulted, to take Christian principle rather than worldly honour as her guide—to return good for evil— to show her good will towards the aggressor by some singular act of kindness and respect. Can any man doubt what would be the result? Can any man question that the tendency of this course would be to obtain for such a nation an influence and ascendency for every wise and worthy purpose, which would soon establish her honour on ground infinitely firmer, as well as more elevated, than the grandest pinnacle of human glory?

* * * * * *

I shall not, on the present occasion, enter into a discussion of the question, how far an individual or a nation is, on Christian grounds, warranted to go in acts or measures of self-defence. While love, forbearance, and kindness to our enemies are, under Providence, the main defence and protection of the Christian, the restraints both of municipal law for the protection of persons, and

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of the law of nations for that of individual states, may still be steadily maintained, so far as their provisions consist with the law of God. In their own nature they are perfectly consistent with the Saviour's golden rule—"Do unto others as ye would that others (that is, under like circumstances, and with a fair view of the subject) should do unto you." But in all such matters, a limit, as I believe, is drawn around the Christian individual, and the Christian nation, by the second grand principle alluded to at the commencement of this address, I mean *the sacredness of human life*.

Here I have an especial view to the bearing and character of the gospel dispensation. Under the prior dispensation of the law, the subject of man's immortal destinies, and of the awful realities of the future world, though occasionally mentioned, were by no means fully developed. A system of temporary rewards and punishments was in force for the regulation of the Jewish nation. The command, "Thou shalt not kill," was limited in its application; and was understood by the Jews as offering little impediment either to the punishment of death, or to war. Both these, indeed, under peculiar circumstances, were, for a season, permitted and even ordained.

But our Lord Jesus Christ "has brought life and immortality to light by the gospel," and no one, who enjoys the privilege of a knowledge of the New Testament, can any longer plead the slightest measure of doubt or obscurity respecting the true nature and consequences of death. As Christians we cannot for a moment conceal from ourselves the awful fact, that when we destroy our fellow-man, we consign him to a state of never-ending existence; and that this eternal existence must be happy or miserable, according to the actual moral condition of his soul when he quits this state of being; a condition respecting which God alone is the judge. What countless multitudes of persons, full of angry and violent passions, persons whom we cannot reasonably believe to have been prepared for death, have been suddenly consigned to judgment and eternity, by the "red right hand" of war!

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Amidst the numerous examples which crowd upon the memory of the reader of ancient and modern history, in illustration of this remark, it is almost useless to attempt selection; the general fact is too notorious to be for a moment denied. It may not, however, be useless to remind the reader, that the number of human lives destroyed in the wars of Napoleon, is computed, on authentic premises, to have amounted to FOUR MILLIONS;—unutterably awful sacrifice to the Moloch of ambition! An example on a smaller scale, but peculiarly calculated to afflict the feelings of every humane and generous mind, is furnished by the very newspaper of the day, which is now lying before me. In the account just received of the capture of St. Jean D'Acre, that strong-hold of Syria, by the allied fleet, chiefly consisting of British men-of-war, it is stated that the bombardment lasted only three hours, and that during this short space of time 2500 persons in the town were slain! A great part of this horrid work of death was effected through the blowing up of a powder magazine, which event is thus described in the report:—"At about four P.M. a sensation was felt on board the ships similar to that of an earthquake, which was subsequently ascertained to have been a tremendous explosion (no doubt from one of the steamer's shells) of a powder magazine ashore, launching into eternity no less than 1200 of the enemy." Afterwards, the writer says, "The town is one mass of ruins; the batteries and most of the houses literally riddled all over; the killed and wounded lying about in all directions; bodies cut asunder; some without heads, others without legs and arms; hundreds dying from the blood flowing from their wounds, and no one near to help them." And again, "The scene presented to-day by the town is indescribably horrible, the whole neighbourhood of the explosion being a mass of killed and wounded, men and beasts tossed together indiscriminately."

I feel that I should have been guilty of injustice to my reader, had I omitted the recital of the physical horrors of this melancholy scene; but the point on which I am now insisting is that "launching into eternity," of which the reporter speaks

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with so much ease and familiarity. Here is a subject of infinite solemnity. Here, on the part of the warring nation, is the assumption of a responsibility which (as I believe) no events can warrant, no politics justify. I apprehend that the Christian, on the plain principles of the gospel in which he trusts, will find it impossible to escape from the conclusion, that as God alone bestows the natural life of man, so God alone can rightfully take it away.

* * * * * *

I am well aware that the two principles which I have attempted to advocate in this address, are at present far from being generally received, in what I believe to be their legitimate extent, by the professors, or even the ministers of the Christian religion. For my own part, I believe they will bear a close scrutiny; and that as they come to occupy the serious reflection of sober persons of every name and class, we shall hear no more from the pulpits of the professed servants of Christ, of the glories of victory, or even of successful armed defence. The songs which celebrate these carnal triumphs will find no echo in any place which is regarded as the house of God; no longer will they be the theme of the solemn offerings of supplication or praise. The ministers of Jesus, following the example of their divine Master, and influenced by his Holy Spirit, will plead for peace, without reserve, and without exception. The whole Christian public, at home and abroad, will be gradually imbued with "peace principles." The mind of that Christian public will act with ever increasing moral force on the mind of each respective government; and finally, the nations of the earth, succumbing to the sceptre of the Prince of Peace, will repose together under the banner of love. The word of prophecy is express and unquestionable—"NATION SHALL NOT LIFT UP SWORD AGAINST NATION, NEITHER SHALL THEY LEARN WAR ANY MORE."

Whilst in London for a few days at the commencement of the following year, (1841,) Joseph John Gurney had the opportunity of an interview with Lord John Russell,

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then Secretary of State for the Colonies. In a letter which, at Lord John Russell's request, he soon afterwards addressed to him, he entered into a full explanation of the points referred to in the interview; warmly advocating the protection of free labour, and adverting, at some length, to several other topics of importance to the welfare of the negroes.

3rd mo., 7th. Through infinite compassion, my way to heaven seems much clearer than before I left England for America; and I am decidedly less tried in the prospect of death. Probably I shall not live to be an old man. The Lord make all things straight and easy in Christ, for one of the most unworthy of his children!

First day evening, 3rd mo., 28th. A degree of quiet peacefulness is, through mercy, experienced this evening. In the afternoon meeting, on the bended knee, I blessed the Lord for his goodness, and, in the morning, spoke of the confounding of the wisdom of the wise in the gospel of a crucified and risen Lord. I afterwards found that an unbeliever was present.

4th mo., 25th. Our journey, [into Wiltshire,] has been performed greatly to my satisfaction, and Anna and I returned home with my sister Rachel Fowler, last evening. I am in decidedly improved health, and peaceful in mind. Read during the journey my American letters, to our mutual pleasure. Since, German New Testament, and two duodecimo volumes of De Toqueville on American Democracy, in French; a well thought out, reasoned, and written book, quite an amusement to me. I am also going through the Portable Evidence, to examine what alterations are needed, or whether any.

5th mo., 10th. Dear Anna Gurney left us this morning, after a delightful visit of four days. She is in great brightness of mind. We dearly love and prize her, and are much united. She read us her Grecian journal, greatly to our pleasure, and, I hope, instruction.

5th mo., 11th. This evening completed the correction of the Portable Evidence, with a view to the objections made to the

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tendency of some passages. I think the objections were, in fact, nearly groundless; yet in my plea for the divine authority of Scripture, I had not always expressed myself quite so guardedly, as might have been desirable. The work, as corrected, contains nothing, as far as I know, which can offend any sound Friend.

N.B.—I have not the smallest objection, but, on the contrary, every wish, to alter or expunge anything which can be pointed out to me, in any of my works, at variance from the truth in its primitive simplicity, purity, and spirituality, as it has been always held by the Society of Friends.

After attending the Yearly Meeting in London, he writes:—

Upton, first day night, 5th mo., 30th. On fourth day, (the 19th,) the Yearly Meeting commenced; interesting and edifying has the whole occasion been. Meetings for worship at Devonshire house on sixth day; at Plaistow on first day last; and at Gracechurch street on fourth day; all excellent: a precious flow of the anointing, as I believe. The Yearly Meeting ended in much solemnity on sixth day evening. Yesterday we had our concluding meeting of ministers and elders, at which a very satisfactory minute was entered on the books respecting the return of my certificate. In the afternoon a good anti-slavery meeting, for the purpose of discussing the sugar question. Dr. Lushington and I both made speeches, and I hope the subject was pretty well cleared.

In allusion to a circumstance that was now deeply interesting his feelings, he continues:—

It remains for me to record a rich blessing which has been bestowed upon me since I have been in this neighbourhood, in a most happy, good understanding with my beloved friend E. P. Kirkbride;* our covenant being fully made to the pleasure and

* The daughter of Joseph Kirkbride, of Bridesburg, near Philadelphia, who had been, for some time, on a visit to her friends Jonathan and H. C. Backhouse, at Darlington.

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satisfaction of our friends. This great blessing, together with the near and precious unity of the Church, which has received me back into its bosom, (after my long absence,) with all cordiality and affection, has filled my soul with tranquil joy, and true, heartfelt gratitude.

In the sixth month, in company with his brother Samuel Gurney, and his friend Josiah Forster, his daughter, and his sister-in-law Rachel Fowler, Joseph John Gurney spent a few days in Paris; principally with a view of promoting the cause of emancipation in the French West Indian colonies. They obtained interviews with the king, and some of the most influential members of his government, in most of which Joseph John Gurney embraced the opportunity of stating the results of his own observations in the West Indies, in connexion with the question. The following is an extract from one of his letters during this visit to Paris:—

First day, 6th mo., 13th. At half past three, yesterday, we were engaged to call on Guizot, to converse with him, and to give him my testimony, as an eye witness, of the benefits of emancipation. Our aged friend Thomas Clarkson had earnestly begged me to do so in the spring, and now I was fairly bound to the work. Guizot is a Protestant, I doubt not, on conviction; however he may be, at times, carried by the stream of politics over some lines which we deem to be important. He has a highly intellectual countenance and great powers of mind; and is evidently the soul of the present French government. I felt the prospect of this interview almost as weightily as I did that of the public meeting at Washington; well knowing the importance of the subject, and of the consequences which might arise from our conference. After a little waiting, we were introduced to the minister, and were received with real kindness. We sat down together, and nearly the whole time was occupied by the statement which I was enabled to make, I trust with some degree of clearness and force, of the results of emancipation in our

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colonies. He is familiar with English, so that I had the advantage of explaining the subject in my own tongue. Nothing could exceed his attention. We attempted no more, his time being up; but the deed was done; and we parted with the understanding that he would read my book, and that we should renew our conversation next third day, when we expect to dine with him. We found the Baroness Pelet at the hotel waiting our return, and much did we enjoy an hour's conversation with her. She is all sympathy with us in our labours.

The work of the day being, through mercy, well over, we went a drive in the evening to Napoleon's magnificent Triumphal Arch, at the Barrière de l'Etoile, which we ascended; and amply were we repaid for our fatigue, by a very delightful and explanatory view of Paris and its environs. The fires being of wood, no dingy smoke confuses or obscures the beauties of the metropolis, which, as so seen, are, indeed, almost unrivalled; but it was affecting to think of its more than million inhabitants, so many of whom are given up either to superstition, or to vice and infidelity, not to mention *nonchalance* and frivolity.

But religion in its purer forms, even here, is making decided advances, and education, with the distribution of the Holy Scriptures, is effecting much good. Altogether the deportment of the people seems to me to be less lightsome and wanton than when I was last here about twenty-four years ago.

One hundred and sixty thousand men are now at work on the absurd object of fortifying Paris; absurd in a national point of view, though it is likely enough materially to increase the power of the crown; for, politically speaking, Paris is France, and the lord of the armies will henceforth, we may conclude, be the undisputed lord of Paris. The troops quartered in the city alone amount to 40,000,—the standing army of the United States multiplied by six or seven. The rage for military glory is the peril and curse of the French nation, and one is afraid to think what may be one day the effect of the bursting forth of the volcano. In the meantime the Roman Catholic priesthood is playing its part with its usual consummate policy, and is evidently

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both cementing and extending its power. The church plays into the hands of the armed power, and the armed power into those of the church.

Who shall say what will be the end of these things, and what the process before the end comes? Yet may we not entertain the sure hope that the "stone cut out without hands," even the spiritual dominion of Christ, will, in due season, triumph over all, and expel both superstition and violence from the earth, which it is destined to fill?

FROM THE BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

Bishop's Palace, Calcutta, July 3rd, 1841.

My dear Friend,

I perceive that you have now returned from your long and useful tour in America and the West Indies; and I cannot but express to you the very high satisfaction with which I have just read your Winter in the West Indies, sent to me by *Sir* Fowell Buxton,—(never were civil honours better conferred,)—whose efforts, now that Wilberforce is no more, seem to rival those even of that distinguished person, though in a different way. The gentle, the persuasive, the eloquent, the fascinating public statesman, the friend of Pitt, was required to propose the great question. Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox were put into office, I verily believe, to carry it. Then Fowell's energy, boldness, practical habits, perseverance, have been raised up, to crown the efforts of his predecessors. * * * You may judge, therefore, my dear friend, with what delight I read the first proofs of the success of Emancipation in the West Indies, as respects every point, moral, religious, political, commercial. The rise in the value of estates is alone conclusive. Your account of your interview with Sir C. T. Metcalfe was doubly interesting from my intimacy with him for seven years in India. * * *

I am still in tolerable health for one in his sixty-fourth year, and am chiefly labouring against those Semi-Papists, the Oxford Tractarians; who really seem a judicial infliction, a branch of the Apostacy, partaking of that strong delusion of which the

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apostle speaks. Things are moving on here, though slowly, especially at Krishnaghur, sixty miles from Calcutta. What we want is "Showers of the Holy Ghost:" Ezek. xxxiv, 26.

Soon after his return from Paris, Joseph John Gurney believed himself called to engage in a much more extensive service upon the continent of Europe.

"Having had an opportunity," he remarks, "of endeavouring to impress on the slaveholding government of France, the practical advantages of emancipation, as proved by experience in the British West Indian Colonies, I was anxious to lay the same evidence before two other Governments similarly circumstanced, though not to so great an extent; Holland, holding about 60,000 slaves as I understand, chiefly in Dutch Guiana; and Denmark, holding about 40,000 in her West Indian Islands. But this was far from being the exclusive, or even the principal object which I had in view. I had long entertained the belief that some directly religious service on the continent of Europe awaited me, and I was comforted to find that my beloved sister Elizabeth Fry was under a similar exercise of mind, and had very much the same places in prospect as myself, in Holland, Denmark, Hanover, and Prussia."

A few days before leaving home he writes in his Journal:—

7th mo., 18*th.* I do not wish to forget that life is short and uncertain. It is an inexpressible mercy to be permitted, notwithstanding all discouragements, to repose, with some degree of tranquil confidence, on the bosom of the Saviour. There may I ever find an availing rest!

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CHAPTER XXXVII.

1841. ÆT. 53—54.

DEPARTURE FOR THE CONTINENT; ROTTERDAM; GOUDA; THE HAGUE; VISIT TO THE KING AND QUEEN OF HOLLAND; AMSTERDAM; BREMEN; HAMBURG.

HAVING received full certificates of the unity and concurrence of their friends, Joseph John Gurney, with his sister Elizabeth Fry, left London for Rotterdam, on the 31st of the 7th mo., 1841, accompanied by his daughter, and their niece, Elizabeth S. Gurney.

The following are extracts from his letters written during this journey:—

Rotterdam, first day, 8th mo., 1st.

We arrived at the beautiful quay of this city, amidst abundance of noble shipping, at six o'clock this morning. I had been told that Rotterdam was a disagreeable place, the hotels bad, and the people uncivil; but we find the contrary of these things to be true. We have excellent apartments at the Hotel Pays Bas, are kindly treated, and have enjoyed a quiet walk about this handsomely built and orderly town. The lofty, well-painted houses; the canals every now and then serving for streets; the rows of trees beside the river; and the crowded ships, boats, &c., wherever the river or canal runs, all strike the eye agreeably. As we passed along, we were glad to observe no infraction of the Sabbath, the shops being universally shut. I find from our agreeable elderly friend, John S. Mollet, of Amsterdam, who is kindly come hither to meet us, that the various places for worship here, and in other

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Dutch towns, are well attended; and he speaks of "many serious people" who dwell here. There is no political distinction among the sects; all are tolerated, and all, as in America, are on a level; but the Government pays the ministers of the several denominations. The usual salary is upwards of £200 per annum, which is increased by the voluntary contributions of the flock. The Dutch, however, have no taste for spending their money; they are rich and parsimonious, the more sparing, perhaps, in consequence of being more severely taxed than any nation in the world. Although only two millions and a half in population, they raise a revenue, chiefly by direct taxation on property and income, to the amount of six millions sterling. High qualifications are required for electors. Republicans as they have been for centuries, they have no notion of a low and generalized democracy; yet they do not greatly admire having a king bestowed upon them —*inflicted* on them, they would say. * * *

In our walk about the city, this morning, we observed, on one of the bridges, a statue of Erasmus, somewhat larger than life. He is standing, in bronze, on his pedestal, clothed in a long gown, and turning over the leaves of some ancient folio. His countenance equals that of Sir Isaac Newton, under the hands of Roubilliac. However wanting he was in moral courage, Erasmus was far from being destitute of enlargement of heart, as well as intellect, or of nobility of character. On the bridge at Rotterdam, he looks like his nobler self, when the veteran refused some high honour offered to him by Ferdinand of Austria; declaring, that honours conferred on him would be but like a burden imposed on a falling horse—*sarcina equo collabenti imposita*. To complete my journal, I might tell thee of the neat appearance of the people, the starched caps of the bonnetless women, the broad brims and long coats of the little boys, and the unwieldy, clattering, wooden shoes which abound on every side, but on these points I need not expatiate.

It is a high privilege to be the companion of my beloved sister. She has a cheering and happy influence over our party, and over all whom she approaches. It is curious and instructive to observe

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the little congregations of young and old, which she gathers round her on ship board and elsewhere; always for some good purpose; always with a view to the welfare of her fellow-men, and the glory of her God and Saviour.

Rotterdam, 8th mo., 2nd.

We were favoured with a solemn and edifying meeting last evening in company with a considerable number of pious and well disposed people, who received our gospel message with kindness. And now, at the close of another interesting day, I sit down to continue my Journal. After an early breakfast this morning, we walked through many a street and beside many a canal, among quickly succeeding scenes of evident commercial thrift, to the "boys' prison." There we found about 150 criminals, all under eighteen years of age; a poor prison, in point of construction and accommodation, for the juvenile offenders of all Holland; but, in point of discipline and management, excellent. The prisoners of the first or worst class, are kept in silence; those of the second class may converse a little; those of the third, or best class, as they please. We found almost all the boys in the school, which is admirably conducted, no punishment having been given in it for two years. The master exercises a powerful moral influence, and the lads make great progress in useful learning. The Scriptures are read to them daily; and when not in school, they work as carpenters, shoemakers, and tailors, being allowed about half their earnings. This proportion is subdivided into halves, one of which is reserved for them against their leaving prison, and the other is spent at the canteen, a little shop within the walls, where various articles of food and convenience are sold.

This last part of the arrangement we could not approve, as the daily allowance of food is sufficient; and the extra indulgence thus afforded may be one reason that many of them, after being dismissed, return to their evil habits, and find their way back again to the prison. Another impediment to their improvement, is their sleeping in large companies closely packed; for solitude by night is an almost essential point in prison discipline. After all, human devices for reform are in vain, unless God is pleased to

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touch and change the heart. This happily appears to have been the case with a considerable proportion of these youths; and thus their reformation springs from the Fountain of all good. We addressed them in English, and John Mollett interpreted for us into Dutch.

This duty performed, we hired a carriage, and drove twelve miles through the country, northward to Gouda. We were much interested by this little journey, which gave us the opportunity of seeing Holland, as it truly is,—an artificial country, redeemed from the sea, and preserved from it by vast mounds, green, fertile, flat, intersected by almost innumerable canals. These canals serve three purposes; they are at once the channels, roads, and fences of Holland. We passed by a large number of country villas, every one surrounded by small canals, and adorned with a flowery Dutch garden, and a summer-house for smoking and tea-drinking, at the edge of the *ditch water*, which is generally stagnant and green with vegetable corruption;—no wonder that fevers and agues abound! Yet the neat appearance of these residences, the curious *parterres*, the green shutters, &c., are quite attractive and agreeable. The country itself much resembles our Marshland, and low Lincolnshire; justly is it called "Waterland;" for taking into account the ponds, lakes, and rivers, as well as the canals and ditches, the water is said to occupy a full half of the Netherlands. Windmills are seen in great profusion, and are used for a variety of purposes, but chiefly for draining the marshes. The large white water lilies, as well as the yellow common ones, abound; and storks of a great stature are often seen stalking over the meadows. The natural soil of sand and mud affords no solid foundation for houses, which are built on piles driven into the earth; a remark which applies to the cities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam, as well as to the country districts. The industrious Dutch, however, turn their mud into good clinkers, with which their roads, in the utter lack of stones, are neatly paved.

Gouda is a considerable town, neatly built. Here there is a manufactory of tobacco pipes, which employs 6000 people. Our object was the famous women's prison for all Holland, a very

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inadequate building, containing nearly 400 women criminals; one class for misdemeanors, and the other for greater crimes. The discipline and moral care are admirable; they are well employed, instructed, fed, and clothed; their costume singular enough. We were joyfully received by two ladies who visit the prison, after the example, and, I believe, through the advice formerly given, of my beloved sister. Our visit to the institution was highly interesting; and some religious service occurred, with the help of interpreters, with each class of prisoners. Many tears were shed, and we trust some lasting effect may have been produced. My sister's visit here last year has been productive of important improvements, especially the change of men turnkeys, for suitable female officers, "*les gardiennes.*" The criminal women, like the boys at Rotterdam, are paid part of their earnings, and re-enter the world accustomed to habits of order and industry, and with money in their pockets. Yet many of them revert to crime, and return to prison; such is depraved human nature.

We returned home to a late dinner; and this evening have been holding a philanthropic meeting with more than 100 ladies and gentlemen, including the English ministers of the Episcopal, Independent, and Scotch congregations, and many of the Dutch, who could understand either English or French. I recited the story of the West Indies to a very attentive audience, after which our dear sister read a chapter in Isaiah, and addressed the company with much sweetness. All ended well; books and kind words were distributed in abundance, every one seemed to get his or her portion, and so the day ends in peace.

The Hague, 8th mo., 4th.

We left Rotterdam yesterday morning after an early semi-breakfast, and drove "two hours" distance, as they say here, to this beautiful city. We enjoyed our family reading in the coach during the first stage, our friend J. S. Mollet being with us. We changed horses at the handsome old town of Delft; so well known for its polished earthenware. There we visited a large "church" in which is to be seen the monument of William I,

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the Prince of Orange, who was assassinated in 1584, by order of Philip, king of Spain, after having delivered the Netherlands from the double yoke of Spain and Popery. We afterwards saw in the Museum here, the homely leathern garments, and broad-brimmed hat, in which he was attired at the moment when the assassin shot him. I suppose he may be reckoned among the best of the great warriors of the earth; but he was a warrior still, untaught in the Christian lesson of suffering wrong and taking all consequences. In the same building is the tomb of Grotius, whose vast learning and ability in defending the Christian religion is celebrated upon it, in doggrel Latin verse. He was, I believe, born at Delft, and died at Rostock, in 1645. Anna and I enjoyed our drive on the outside seat, from Delft to the Hague; six miles; chiefly through a long avenue of elms; and we arrived in time for a second breakfast at the Hotel Bellevue, which commands a pleasing view of the king's deer park, and the public walks.

The Hague is a very agreeable-looking place, the streets clean and handsome, no appearance of commercial activity, the prosperity of the town depending on its being the seat of government. The king has one palace in the city, and another near at hand in the country. The city contains 50,000 inhabitants, who appear orderly enough, not to say dull; but we have already become acquainted with several interesting people. While my sister was arranging her papers, the young people and I visited a large model of Petersburg, which is said to be of extreme exactness. The houses, streets, gardens, palaces, &c., are well set up in miniature, in the proportion of an inch for twenty yards, I believe; and after some time spent in examination, one seems to get quite familiar with the place itself. In the meantime a good many persons had collected at the hotel; the Groen Von Prinsterers; the widow of Baron Fagel and her daughter; Baron Von Capel, who had spent many years in Java; some warm Friends to the Anti-slavery cause, and Capadose, the converted Jew, whose truly remarkable history is before the public. He is a very interesting man, warm-hearted in the cause of Christ;

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his humility and gentleness are striking. After much conversation, my sister read the Scriptures; and I afterwards found it to be my duty to utter some sentences in ministry not very accurately, I fear, as to my French, but I trust, under a measure of that which gives life. It was a favour to conclude the day with a feeling of religious solemnity.

Amsterdam, 8th mo., 8th.

After writing my last letter, I sat down with my sister, John Mollett, and a sub-secretary of the interior, to digest a report to the government respecting the prisons, many of which my sister had seen in the course of her former tour in this country; so that she could now draw a comparison somewhat favourable as it regards their present condition. This done, we drove to the palace of the Prince of Orange, the heir apparent, whose wife, a daughter of the King of Wurtemberg, had summoned us to an audience. We both addressed her, under serious feelings, respecting her important responsibilities as the probable future queen of this country.

In the afternoon we called on that really devoted Christian, Dr. Capadose, the converted Jew, whose pious wife and lively children, as well as himself, interested us much. Afterwards we dined at Lady Desbrowe's, being met by Sir Alexander and Lady Malet,—the former, Secretary of Legation, the latter, step-daughter to Lord Brougham; agreeable people, who seemed drawn to us by a feeling of affection; and Count Sanft, the Austrian minister. Sir Edward Desbrowe, the British minister, who had been absent on a journey, returned home before dinner was ended. He is a very spirited, sensible man, an old diplomatist, and much interested in the cause of education, freedom, &c. It was pleasant to see his young children clinging round him on his return. I was obliged to leave this agreeable company, being sent for by the Prince of Orange. I drove to his palace, and was soon introduced to his private study. He received me standing, but was remarkably kind and open in his manner, probably about twenty-five years old. I spoke to him on the subject of slavery, and afterwards very freely on the importance and efficacy of

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simple primitive Christianity. I felt a true Christian love for him and desire for his welfare, and have a hope that the interview may not be entirely in vain. On my return to our ambassador's, I found that orders had been received for Lady Desbrowe, my sister, and myself to meet the king and queen, at the Palais de Roi, the next day at half-past one; so that now the close exercise of mind which I had felt with a view to this visit seemed likely at last to have a practical result. My sister and I spent the latter part of the evening with our friend Groen Von Prinsterer and his wife, persons of distinction in the world, but of marked simplicity and piety. We were mentally refreshed in their company, and after this very full day were glad indeed to retire to rest.

Yesterday (seventh day) formed a peculiarly interesting conclusion to our stay at the Hague. The two dear girls and I breakfasted with a widowed lady, of the name of Fagel, whose pleasing manners and unaffected piety reminded us of the Baroness Pelet, at Paris. She has two daughters at home with her, and a son twelve years old, full of life and amiability, who is the heir to the Fagel estate, being the only male now in that family, one of the most distinguished in Holland. We were favoured with a good family sitting after breakfast. The ladies speak English well. I had to minister to them all, and to pray earnestly for them, especially for the young heir; and it was, through mercy, a time of great tenderness. At twelve o'clock we held a short, lively meeting for worship at our hotel. The Desbrowes, Malets, Groens, Fagels, and many other interesting people were there. Above all, the Lord condescended to show forth the sweetness of his power and presence. The Truth was, I believe, plainly spoken. Sir E. Desbrowe said afterwards that it was "everything that could be desired." The time was now come for the royal interview.

On our arrival at the palace, we were ushered into a handsome drawing-room, where we were kindly received by an *aide de camp* and two ladies of honour. After some time of waiting, some large folding doors opened, and the king and queen entered with the Princess Sophia, their only daughter, aged eighteen. The

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king, who appeared to be verging towards sixty, is rather tall, thin, bright looking, and very gentlemanlike and easy in his manners. The queen, grave but kind; of a majestic person, quite interesting; the young princess quiet and pleasing. Everybody, as well as themselves, continued standing during our interview, which lasted considerably more than half an hour. It was to our feelings a time of divine favour, and we were both enabled to speak very plainly to them. They were evidently immediately attracted to my sister, whom the king questioned very pleasantly as to the first origin of her prison visiting, and as to her family, &c. She gave the history well, and unfolded the state of the prisons of Holland in a lucid manner.

She then mentioned my West Indian tour; on which I gave them my recital fully and clearly, yet as concisely as I could, pressing upon him the duty and safety of abolishing slavery in his own dominions. I felt helped in the service, and the opportunity of performing it was a peculiar relief to my feelings. I then gently, but pointedly, attacked the vile practice of the Dutch on the gold coast of Western Africa, (where they have a settlement,) of enlisting negro soldiers, by high bounty money, to serve as troops in Java and Surinam, a practice which entails the same horrible anterior steps in the heart of Africa, as the slave trade itself. I knew it was somewhat of a risk to mention the subject, but I felt it to be my bounden duty; and to my surprise, though our diplomacy had failed in the matter, the king immediately gave way, and declared his intention to put an end to the practice.

Afterwards my sister spoke to the king on the subject of education, and on the lamentable fact, that (out of a sort of false honour to the Roman Catholics) the Bible is at present entirely excluded from the public schools of Holland. The law of the land itself, as the king told us, excludes religion from the schools, on the ground of their being equally for all sects of Christians, and even Jews. My sister pointed out the fallacy of this plea, and it was cheering to observe how cordially he assented to our doctrine, that *education, without scriptural instruction, was merely*

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giving power without a right direction, and that religious principle is the only true foundation of virtue. My sister had then a little private chat with the queen; and, after a reciprocal and hearty exchange of blessings, we parted; the royal personages retiring through the same folding doors as had given them entrance. We brought with us Fowell's book, and the West Indies, for the king; and my sister's prison book, and my Essay on Love to God, for the queen. I also presented to the king an address of the Anti-Slavery Society. A text book was presented to the young princess; and the queen, soon after we had left her, sent a pressing despatch for another for herself. May she imbibe many a precious truth from it! She is the youngest sister of the Emperor of Russia, and a member of the Greek church; evidently a person of benevolence, and, I think, serious feeling. On our way back to our hotel, we paid a farewell visit to Schimmelpenninck, the minister of the interior, through whom we are to present our report; and about three o'clock drove off from the Hague, in safety and peace.

On our way we spent an interesting hour at Leyden. The vacation prevented our seeing either the professors or the students. We visited Temmink's wondrous collection of birds, and other animals at the museum, and rambled over the apartments of the college, but were too late to obtain admission into the library. The drive of eighteen miles from this interesting old town, to the equally fine city of Haarlem, is through pleasant avenues, green meadows, and handsome villas on either side. Anna and I rode outside, and enjoyed it much. Time forbad our attempting to stop at Haarlem. We drove on in the dark to Amsterdam, and took up our comfortable quarters at the Target Hotel, at half-past ten at night.

Amsterdam, fourth day morning, 8th mo., 11th, 1841.

Our work in this place seems now to be terminated, and we are about to start for Bremen, where we hope to spend our next Sabbath, it being a journey of four days. We wish to get to Copenhagen with the least delay possible. Amsterdam is a striking city of 200,000 inhabitants. The houses lofty, and some

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of them very handsome; large canals, running through many of the streets; which, when so watered, are called *Groots*. The *Hemengroot* is the residence of the aristocracy; a wide canal with trees on either side, and a long row of handsome, neatly-painted houses behind each row of trees. The grotesque steeples are numerous and good looking; the gable ends of many of the houses front the street; there is a fine palace, for this is, in fact, the capital; and the whole place has a truly foreign appearance. Two drawbacks there certainly are; an almost perpetually moist atmosphere, and the offensive odours of the abounding stagnant water. The people have, in general, the appearance of neatness and comfort, and the streets are crowded.

Our Sabbath passed off satisfactorily. We sat down at one o'clock in our own Meeting-house, a neat little place where dear John S. Mollett worships in solitude every first day. The meeting was attended by about one hundred people, some of whom came out of mere curiosity, and glided off as soon as they were satisfied. Many others were evidently gathered into deep serious feelings, and I believe the ministry which flowed on the occasion was attended with power. Some of the young people seemed much affected, and have been frequenting our meetings since, which description, in fact, applies to several other persons.

In the afternoon, Elizabeth, Anna, and I, ventured on a quiet walk along some of the "*grachts*" and "*straets*," and quite enjoyed the handsome yet grotesque appearance of the place. All the shops were shut, and everything betokened the observance of the Sabbath. In the early morning, I had noticed the ladies going to their places of worship, with neat Bibles in their hands. In the evening we met at our hotel for the reading of the Scriptures. Some thirty or forty persons attended. My sister read the seventh of Luke, and commented on it very sweetly. I afterwards addressed the company in unison with her remarks. It was, I thought, a hallowed season.

On second day, I was engaged in writing a long letter to the King, recapitulating the various points of our conversation; this I despatched to the care of our ambassador the next morning. I

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felt it a weighty undertaking, but I believe I was enabled to execute the task pretty well. At noon my sister and I partook of a second breakfast with W. H. Suringar, a Christian philanthropist of a very interesting character, whose attention has been most usefully directed to the prisons. He is justly called the Howard of Holland. He is a man of genius, and has written an excellent "handbook" for the use of the prisoners. At three o'clock he and John S. Mollett, and J. M.'s pious, agreeable wife, (not a Friend,) united with us in a visit to the prison. The department allotted to girl criminals, for all Holland, is admirably conducted under the care of visiting ladies, set to work by my sister in her last visit, and a good matron. We had a satisfactory religious opportunity with them. The rest of the prison is chiefly filled with prisoners for trial. It is crowded with men and women, the two sexes separate, otherwise there is a total absence of classification, as well as employment, and very little religious care. It is precisely such places as these that are the hotbeds of crime.

On my return to our hotel, I held a long and interesting parley with a planter from the Dutch settlement of Surinam on the north-east coast of South America; and in the evening we had a *réunion* of about 100 persons, consisting chiefly of merchants and men of business, many of whom were connected with the Dutch colonies, and with slavery. I addressed them for about an hour, in order to prove to them from facts which I had myself witnessed, the agricultural, mercantile, and pecuniary advantages of the abolition of slavery. It was a thorough man-of-business oration, adapted to Dutchmen attached to their ledgers, and it is considered to have had important effects, having been attentively listened to, and well received. I wound up with an appeal to Christian principle, in which I was admirably followed up by my dear sister.

Yesterday was spent by her under the care of John S. Mollett, in the inspection of the workhouses, hospital, lunatic asylum, and a visit to the ladies who manage a district society for the poor. The best thing she saw was the Jew's hospital, which is well conducted. The Psalms of David are read to the patients three times

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a day, a good example for Christian institutions of the same nature. I was too much occupied by finishing my letter to the King, and some other matters of necessary business, to allow of my going with her. At eight o'clock in the evening, a final meeting took place in our large saloon at the hotel, which was crowded with interesting people. It began with an address from my sister on prisons, lunatic asylums, and schools. I followed; and soon the blessed tide of divine influence rose in an extraordinary manner, and it became a solemn, favoured meeting, in which the glorious gospel was declared in a measure of the power of an endless life. This meeting entirely cleared us of Amsterdam. Many were the books and tracts distributed on the occasion. We parted from our numerous friends, who generally understood English, in the flowings of true love, and left the place at nine o'clock this morning in health and peace.

Bremen, seventh day night, 8th mo., 14th.

I am truly thankful that, after a journey of three days and a half across the country, not altogether without difficulty, we are safely arrived at this singular and beautiful city. Our first day's journey was in every way agreeable; the country from Amsterdam to Deventer being through a well cultivated and pleasant country, the latter half being somewhat less flat, and much more diversified than the lowlands to which we had hitherto been accustomed in Holland; the produce of the country, rye and potatoes, besides hay, to which may be added tobacco, which seemed as flourishing as in the southern States of America, but I suppose is of an inferior quality. The consumption of this fascinating weed among the Dutch is enormous, almost every Dutchman having his cigar or long twisted pipe frequently in hand. We passed by a number of pretty villas, and one of the king's country palaces, and Anna and I quite enjoyed riding outside when the weather permitted. We paid a very interesting visit in the course of the day to a family of sisters, named Iddeking, living in a handsome Dutch villa near the pretty old town of Amerspoort. There we were entertained with a Dutch

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second breakfast at one o'clock. We were much pleased with the genuine and lively religion of the elder sister, who has been one of the chief prison visitors in Amsterdam. She is an invalid, confined upstairs, and was greatly pleased by my sister's visit. It is always an advantage, in travelling through a country, to see the people in their own houses, and in their own way of living. Into the way of this advantage, our circumstances threw us almost daily, and I suppose in an unusual degree. We arrived at Deventer at a late hour in the evening. It is an old, fortified town of about 15,000 inhabitants, on the banks of the Ysel, a wide river running through green meadows. One Colonel Stanley, under Queen Elizabeth, preferring his religion to his patriotism, being a Roman Catholic, gave up the place to the Spaniards near the close of the 16th century. On fifth day our journey lay through a dull, heathy country, and several poorish little towns. The most attractive sight which caught our attention, was the large flocks of black and white sheep, with the shepherd or shepherdesses always in attendance. I believe these flocks follow them, for "they *know their voice*." The Deventer gingerbread, which is very famous, formed part of our fare; but I do not think any of us were the better for this luxury. Nordhoorne was the first town we reached in Germany. It is in the dominions of the King of Hanover, which we continued for some time to traverse. A more unfruitful or desolate kingdom I have never seen. We dined in the afternoon at an old town called Lingen, where my sister had been before, and was recognised by the landlord with no small expression of pleasure and kindness. In the evening we pursued our journey towards this place, a route quite new to all the party, and we had heard enough to frighten us, of the badness of the road. It was, indeed, an almost fearful sand that we passed through that evening for many tedious and difficult miles, in the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg; until we happily arrived at Hassburg, a pretty little town on the banks of the Hase.

We should have managed fairly enough, had not my dear sister become very poorly during the night; but she got some good sleep towards the morning, and we pursued our journey to the

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successive towns of Loningen and Cloppenburg; poorish places, and a poor country; until we arrived at a somewhat larger, but equally desolate looking place, still in the Duchy of Oldenburg, called Wilderhausen. In making a *détour* through a sandy country full of holes, in order to avoid the long continued mass of new stones laid upon the road, we unhappily broke the strongest iron fastening of one of the springs of our heavy laden carriage; so that during most part of the day we went on in jeopardy, not knowing how soon we might be irretrievably let down in some part of that difficult country. All this was rendered the less acceptable because of my dear sister's evidently delicate condition. However we reached a very poor inn at Wilderhausen in safety, and were relieved in the morning to find our invalid somewhat recruited by a fair night. Here I succeeded in hiring a rough waggon, in which we stowed our luggage, in order to lighten our broken carriage, and in which, for a similar purpose, Anna and I took our seats.

New hopes rise with the morning; and truly entertaining was our journey of fifteen miles, to a place called Delmenhorst, where we found a capital breakfast, in a neat, airy post house, with sanded floors. In the course of our drive, and during the day before, we frequently observed large boulder stones of granite by the roadside, bearing obvious marks of the action of water; the country being itself sand, so that these stones must have been driven thither from some distant mountain by the force of flood. Strange pillars, and grotesque crosses, were also often visible on the roadside; and, in one case, the vast boulder stones seemed to have been arranged in the form of a Druidical temple, like a miniature Stonehenge. The country is in parts Roman Catholic, and in others, Lutheran; but the Lutherans have suffered the images of our Saviour, by the sides of the road and elsewhere, to remain unmolested; one proof, among others, that they did not carry out the Reformation to its fulness.

We entered this very interesting town [Bremen] at noon, without any further mischief to the carriage; passed the noble Weser; drove through numerous neat, white, narrow streets, with

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lofty, grotesque houses, their sculptured gable ends facing the street on each side; and descended at the Lindenhof, as comfortable a resting place, and as commodious and cleanly an hotel, as can easily be found. Our way had been kindly prepared by a letter from the Consul, William Oestricks, whom we met at Amsterdam; and most kind and agreeable was our welcome. I was thankful for such a receptacle for my dear sister, so suited to her present need.

Hamburg, 8th mo., 17th, 1841.

Remarkably interesting and satisfactory was our visit at Bremen. Our Sabbath there proved rather an extraordinary one. At half-past ten our kind friend, the senator Cæsar, called to conduct us to the two remaining prisons; the first a *maison forte*, or house of correction; the second a *maison d'arrêt*, or place of detention for prisoners on trial. My sister was only just able to undergo the exertion, but she was amply repaid; for I have seldom seen a greater effect produced on criminals than by her address to a considerable company of poor women, interpreted by a lady of high station in the town, a kindred spirit to herself, one of those sweet, refined Christian women of whom we have already seen several. We had also a good meeting with the men prisoners. In the *maison d'arrêt* we found a large number of prisoners, *before their trial*, in solitary confinement,—an unjust practice common on the Continent. The details of the great principles of justice and mercy are less understood among foreigners than in England. The excuse for this practice, is to prevent such communication between the prisoners as might interfere with their conviction. In the former of these prisons I saw one of those horrid cells, of which the floor, walls, and seat, are all composed of sharp pointed angular bars of iron, so that the prisoner is kept in a perpetual state of *unrest*, and even of torture. They assured me it was never used; but a few years ago one of our Minden Friends, who refused to serve in the army, was subjected to this barbarous kind of imprisonment. It is, however, a great comfort to believe, that horrors of this character are very much gone out of use.

In the course of our drive to see the prisons, we were much

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pleased with the public walks on the banks of the Weser. They form a vast pleasure ground, of which all the citizens of Bremen avail themselves as they please. In connexion with these grounds, are the neat white villas of the principal merchants. We visited one of them, the summer retirement of our friends the Lurmans, and a more entirely elegant retreat I never saw.

At three o'clock in the afternoon we held our own meeting with about twelve serious Germans, including Charlier, who was formerly with Friends of Stoke Newington, and who acted at Bremen as interpreter, with ability and feeling. It was a truly precious time, in which water was drawn rather abundantly, I believe, from the wells of salvation. Spiritual religion was proclaimed to a spiritually-minded few. This was also the case in the large, and, in prospect, formidable meeting, which was held that evening in a spacious room at the museum; from three to four hundred people present, I suppose. My sister unfolded her prison concerns with peculiar clearness, and was enabled to give it a religious turn in a very effective manner. I also gave some account of the free negroes in the West Indies, and was afterwards enabled to proclaim the great truths of the gospel with distinctness; there being the evident feeling of divine power over the meeting. At the close of it we were addressed in German by the Pastor Malet, in a lively and interesting manner. Books were distributed in abundance, and it would be scarcely possible for me to describe the flowing of love towards us, which marked the expressions and manners of the people when the meeting broke up. Many persons of influence, including the pastors of the town, were there.

Such meetings are forbidden by law; but we were so well introduced, that we met with no obstruction. The place has been much distracted; the Rationalists having been waging a polemical warfare against the more religious part of the community; and having nearly succeeded, as we have since been told, in displacing three eminent evangelical ministers. Our testimony on the side of plain Christian truth seems to have been peculiarly timely; and, by a letter since received from one of our friends,

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the effect has been important. Thus we had again to acknowledge the wisdom and kindness of that guiding hand which brought us to Bremen, whither we had before no intention to go. It is one of the Hanseatic towns, united with Hamburg and Lubeck; contains about 50,000 inhabitants, and is governed by a senate and burgomaster. The inhabitants seem happy and prosperous. It was pleasant to observe the numerous families of the *bourgeois* class, drinking tea out of doors, in their little gardens, on first day evening. The commerce of the town is thriving; and the Exchange, on seventh day, presented a crowded scene of busy traffickers.

We left Bremen with minds greatly relieved, on second day morning, several of our friends coming to the Lindenhof, our comfortable hotel, to witness our departure; and there was quite a crowd at the door to bid us an affectionate German farewell. We were favoured with a prosperous journey to Harburg, on the Elbe, about sixty miles through the Hanoverian territory, which somewhat improved upon us. I observed patches of wheat and oats, as well as fields of rye and potatoes; and it was amusing to watch the storks, and occasional large flocks of sheep, partly white ones and partly black.

We found the little town of Harburg crowded; it was the market day, and the costumes of the people were very attractive; the girls in neat caps, gilt or silvered all over. There we dined, and at half-past six took the steamer, for an hour's voyage down the beautiful Elbe to Hamburg. The approach to that city and Altona, which joins it, is very striking; and, as we neared the pier, I could have almost imagined that I was once more about to land from the Delaware, at Philadelphia; but the numerous spires of Hamburg did not aid the delusion. Crowds of people in the steam-boat surrounded my sister, who had tracts to distribute, their eagerness for a supply being extreme; but we soon found our stores exhausted.

We were conveyed in our carriage, after leaving the boat, to the Hotel de Russie, and in the evening received a call from Amelia Sieveking, an unmarried lady of a good family, who is

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devoted to the welfare of the people, a most industrious and effective philanthropist. She is Christian instructress to a number of young ladies, who spend the morning with her; and she manages a District Society for the poor. It is pleasant to meet with such people,—sound and sober faith, manifested in works of love and mercy. Her reputation is far spread in these parts; but she seems a simple, humble person, as well as very sensible.

Our way here seems remarkably opening, so that we are again furnished with evidence that the hand of a good and kind providence is near to guide and help. Yesterday we were visited in the morning by the Syndic Sieveking, minister for Foreign affairs in this little Republic. The "four Syndics" are the ministers of the sovereign body, which consists of 24 senators and 400 liverymen. The Commonwealth, thus governed, has a mixture of good and bad in its constitution. They contribute 1500 soldiers to the force, ordered by the diet of Germany; and for this and other expenses are taxed considerably, the annual outgoings being eight millions of marcs banco, which amounts, as I understand, to £200,000. Capital punishment is almost unknown, it being twenty-five years since an execution took place. Yet we have seen in the jails several murderers. These are confined at labour for long terms of years. There is a great want of free toleration, no new sect being allowed to hold meetings for worship in the place. The English Baptists who did so, some time since, were for a time much disturbed and persecuted. Now they hold their meetings in private houses, and consider their cause to be prospering.

The Syndic Sieveking is a first-rate man, and kindly undertakes to arrange our proceedings. We were visited yesterday by the Senator Hudtwalker, who is a man of piety and great influence. In the afternoon we called on the once persecuted Baptists, who have an excellent shop for tracts, Bibles, &c. We are to receive them for a private interview at our hotel this evening, as we find their brethren are still persecuted in Denmark, whither we are next going. Afterwards we drove into the country, along the

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delightful banks of the Elbe, and called on the Hanoverian Consul, Hanbury, to whom we had a letter, at his tasteful country seat at Flotbeck. In the evening the Syndic Sieveking, and his cousin, the philanthropist, spent an agreeable, lively time with us, and I trust we had the true feeling of religious unity with them.

To-day we have been fully engaged for some hours in visiting the prisons, all of which evince care and kindness, but there are many defects. Many of the poor fellows are heavily chained. We shall, I believe, present our report to the Government; I hope, not in vain. Some of the religious opportunities with the prisoners were truly affecting. We have engagements appointed for the rest of the day; also for fifth and sixth days, and two meetings; and on seventh day we intend going to Kiel, in order to take the steam-boat for Copenhagen.

In allusion to the remaining three days spent at Hamburg, he says:—

It was a memorable time, during which the hearts of many were remarkably opened towards us, and towards that cause of truth and righteousness which we were earnestly desirous, however feebly, to promote. We had a large company one evening at our hotel, among whom were the Syndic Sieveking, and many others, who appeared abundantly willing to listen to any suggestions which we could offer of a philanthropic nature. A morning was spent in an interesting visit to the Rauhr Haus, an institution in the country, a few miles from Hamburg, chiefly under the care of the Syndic, for the reception of young men convicted of crime, or otherwise marked as disorderly characters. Here, without the scourge, or the fetter, or even the lock, I believe, they are boarded and lodged in several distinct families, under a kind of parental superintendence, and are taught a variety of useful handicraft arts. They are carefully instructed and trained, under the authority of law, to regular moral and religious habits. Hymns are a frequently devotional exercise with them,

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if exercise it may be called; for experience proves that it is easy thus to excite and arrange a service of the lip, while the heart is far estranged from its Maker. Most of the caretakers of this institution have been led into the service as volunteers, by a sense of duty and the influence of Christian love. Here, as I apprehend, is the great secret of that considerable measure of success, in the way of reformation, with which the effort has been blessed.

After a full inspection of the Rauhr Haus, we met a large company at the neighbouring villa of the excellent Syndic, who is a man remarkably without prejudice, largely informed, and, on Christian grounds, a citizen of the world. In the evening, we found a crowded assembly at the house of the truly Christian Senator, Hudtwalker, to whom, at Sieveking's request, I related in English, without interpretation, some of the remarkable circumstances in the life of Wilberforce. Afterwards, my beloved sister addressed them, with the admirable accompanying interpretation of Amelia Sieveking, on the subject of religious toleration and liberty. This is a sore subject at Hamburg; for the little republic, the pattern of freedom, has been fixing its tyrant fangs, by way of cruel restraint at least, into the little Baptist body. Never did I hear a subject more ably or more boldly handled, and yet with that tact, gentleness, and grace, which utterly forbad the kindling of any opposing passion. The impression made was evidently great. We afterwards presented a written address on this and other practical subjects to the local Government; and left the city on seventh day morning, after having been favoured to find, or make, many friends in it.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1841. ÆT. 54.

PROGRESS TO COPENHAGEN; ENGAGEMENTS THERE; VISIT TO THE KING AND QUEEN OF DENMARK; VISIT TO FRIENDS AT PYRMONT AND MINDEN; HANOVER; BERLIN; JOURNEY INTO SILESIA; VISIT TO THE KING OF PRUSSIA; RETURN HOME.

Copenhagen, 8th mo., 23rd.

It is strange to be at last at this place which I have been so long intending to visit! After leaving Hamburg, with all its rapid interests and engagements, it was a rest and refreshment to travel quickly along an excellent macadamized road, through the pleasing, cultivated country of Holstein, to Kiel, a thriving town on the sea coast. We reached that place about three o'clock, and called on Pastor Harms, a pious Lutheran minister, who could not speak a word of French or English, but whose spirit, Christian expression of countenance, and warm salutations in German, truly refreshed us. At seven o'clock we took our places in the "Christian VIII," an admirable steam-boat, built at Glasgow. The weather had been very fine, but exceedingly hot all the day; and no sooner had our voyage begun, than the sky became overcast, and a violent thunder storm, with hail, &c., followed. After a time, however, the sky cleared, and we had a fine night, smooth sea, and prosperous, though somewhat fatiguing voyage. We had distant views, as we proceeded, of Laaland, Zealand, and Sweden; and passed close by the headlands of Moen, exceedingly beautiful; chalk cliffs, 400 feet high, finely broken, and crowned with beech woods. It was a lovely scene, something like the coasts of Hayti. The approach to Copenhagen

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is also very striking; and pleased enough were we to arrive there about one o'clock, after a voyage of only eighteen hours. We were met on our arrival by Peter Browne, the British Secretary of Legation, a very agreeable, Christian gentleman, from Ireland; who informed us that the queen had provided apartments for us at the Hotel Royal, considering us as her guests. She kindly intended to pay all our expenses, but we thought it best politely to claim our independence, and to pay our own bill. Peter Browne and his wife, and Roerdam, an interesting young pastor, sent to us by the queen, spent the evening with us, and we had a comfortable reading and religious opportunity at the conclusion of our day. P. Browne was obliged to leave us for Sweden the next day, after introducing me to George Ryan, a liberal slave-holder, of Santa Cruz, (willing to emancipate,) and to Sir Henry W. W. Wynn, the British Minister Plenipotentiary.

Peter Browne's wife, who is a decidedly religious person and truly kind to us, then took my sister and me to the queen, at her private palace in town, whither she had come ten miles from her country residence on purpose to receive us. We found her with two of her ladies, and Rafford, a French *réformé pasteur*, who is her almoner. I have seldom seen a more pleasing woman; forty-five years of age, dignified in her appearance, but at the same time kind and warm hearted. It seemed a real delight to her to see my sister again. We explained the objects of our mission, and arranged our plan of visiting the prisons. She took a lively interest in the whole affair. When this business was gone through, she conducted us, in two of the royal carriages, to her infant school, my sister and one of the ladies accompanying the queen, whilst Rafford and I followed in the second carriage. It was very interesting to see the queen with her multitude of poor infants, questioning them out of the Scriptures, &c.

On third day our prison visiting commenced. Accompanied by our friend Katherine Browne, Von Usten, a leading man of the police, and Federsen, a Government Inspector, who also proved one of our best friends, we proceeded to the *Dom Haus*, or police prison, chiefly for untried prisoners. It was a long task to go

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through it, especially as it abounded in defects. The want of religious instruction, bibles, &c., is very grievous; and we were little pleased by observing a horrid dungeon, and some tremendous whips.

We were aware that Peter and Adolph Munster, two Baptist ministers, were confined in the better division of this prison, (for it consists of two distinct parts,) for their infraction of the rules of the state religion. Peter had already been there nine months, Adolph for a shorter period. It was a subject which had previously deeply interested us, there being no toleration of sects in Denmark; and we hoped that our seeing them, as a matter of course, in our prison visit, would open the door for our service in the cause of religious liberty. We found them, each alone, in pretty comfortable apartments, and were greatly interested and pleased by them. They had all the appearance of sensible and pious men, the elder brother, Peter, a very superior person. We managed to converse a little in German. After a lunch at the hotel, we again set off for the Stock-haus, or place of slaves, where are the criminals, (all men,) who are condemned to hard labour for many years; a large number for life. They go out chained into the streets to work. They are under the care of a kind captain of the army, who willingly summoned them from their work to hear our addresses; which were interpreted for us by our friend Julius Schiested, a gentleman living near Copenhagen, who has acted as our faithful friend in that important capacity ever since our work there began; and who is now accompanying us to Lubeck. They were also addressed by the celebrated pastor, Grundtwig, a truly spiritual man, who seems to depend on a divine influence in his preaching. It was evident to us that the unction accompanied his words, though we could not understand them. Thomas Shillitoe's meeting in this prison, and visit to the Court, seem to have left a lively impression.

On fourth day we spent many hours in examining the Zucht-haus, or House of Correction, a vast prison, ill built, and old, containing 600 or 700 criminals; 200 women. Many of the religious opportunities were highly interesting and affecting, especially with the latter.

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In the latter part of the morning, we drove to the citadel, where we found about fifty prisoners, for long terms; a sad abode, indeed, with no counteracting advantage. They looked pale and unhealthy, but received our addresses with attention and apparent gratitude * * *

Fifth day was appointed for our visit to the king and queen at Sorgenfri, their pretty country residence. It was to me a weighty affair; indeed, to us both, as we had very important communications to make. Before we left Copenhagen, I paid a private visit to the prison, to Peter Munster. I was anxious, before I saw the king, to know exactly his state of mind, and to what point he could conscientiously yield. I found him remarkably moderate and satisfactory. After a drive of ten miles, we arrived at the palace. The queen was ready to receive us, and gave us a hearty welcome. We came, by agreement, half an hour before the dinner, which was fixed at four o'clock, in order to see the gardens. The queen walked out with us, but without losing her dignity, arm in arm with my sister. The grounds, which are beautifully diversified with hill, dale, wood, and water, are open to the public, among whom she was constantly met with warm tokens of love and respect. She took us at last into her private garden, and we sat together in her arbour; the conversation very interesting. Truly did she excite our affectionate and lively interest in her welfare.

A messenger soon arrived to inform us that the king (Christian VIII.) was in the drawing-room. Thither we repaired, and were received by him with a kind welcome and a friendly shake of the hands. He is a handsome, sensible-looking man, with a benevolent smile, the thorough gentleman in his manners; about my own age, or perhaps rather older. Around us were a company of clergymen in their gowns, officers of the household, ladies of honour, &c. The dinner passed off very agreeably. My sister sat between the king and queen, and we all found ourselves in good company.

After dinner my sister and I accompanied the king and queen into a balcony, fronting the pleasure grounds; my sister then

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gave the king an account of his prisons, and endeavoured to infuse her views of a just and reformatory prison discipline. I interpreted in French, when necessary; the king talking no English. Before she quite finished, the terrace, immediately below the balcony, was filled by a large company of orphans from the asylum in Copenhagen, having been conveyed to Sorgenfri in twenty-five carts, to enjoy a holiday and meet "Madame Fry." Below the terrace spreads a green lawn, on which the public was assembled to witness the spectacle. The weather was delightful; and the scene uncommonly interesting. The orphans sung the usual national songs in honour of the king and queen, who both behaved most kindly to them. A sudden shower occurring, the king commanded them all to be brought into the saloon, when they were addressed by my sister, interpreted for by Prince Bentheim, who declared, in the midst of his interpretation, that her speaking was "*un don de Dieu*;"—not far from the truth I believe.

During the whole of this remarkable scene, I had some anxiety lest I should lose the opportunity of speaking to the king about the West Indies, which I had so much and so long desired. But he did not forget business, and no sooner were the orphans withdrawn, than he took me into the queen's boudoir; and there he and I were shut up alone together for an hour and upwards. Most interesting to myself was our conversation, in which he took a sensible and earnest part, candidly stating his objections, and putting his finger on what he deemed weak points. I was enabled to speak French to him with facility, and gave him a full recital of what I had seen, both in the British and Danish West Indies, clearly explaining to him the whole of my views and wishes respecting the latter. The queen and my sister then came in; and the latter now spoke to him on our last point—the want of religious toleration in his dominions, and the persecution of the Baptists. * * * In conclusion he requested us to come again on the following "Sunday" to dine with him, and bring our proposals in writing; but the queen excused us, telling him that we were to hold a meeting that evening at our hotel. It was at

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last fixed that we should come to him on that day, about noon, to which we could not feel the least objection, as the object was only to do good. After having thus fully relieved our minds, we took tea with them, and accompanied our friend Katherine Browne to her house in the country to lodge. In that sweet place of large trees, and entire quietness, close by the sea, called Roligted, meaning peace, we ended the day in the same; and the next morning returned to Copenhagen. There close business awaited us; I had to write out the whole of our prison speech, and of my anti-slavery views, for the king; two long and carefully digested reports, which Schiested translated for me into Danish. This occupied most of sixth and seventh days; but we were favoured to accomplish it well.

On sixth day evening several ladies and gentlemen came to us, and we laid the foundation of the Prison Discipline Society for Denmark. On seventh day evening we had a *réunion* of nearly two hundred people of the *élite* of Danish society; the large assembly room at the hotel being filled. My sister spoke well on prisons, being interpreted for by Schiested, and I gave them the West Indian story. Nothing could exceed the interest and love of the people. First day was truly memorable. A precious meeting with the Baptist flock, at nine in the morning. This done, we again drove to Sorgenfri, and enjoyed a satisfactory interview with the king and queen. We were alone with them for nearly two hours, and while the king looked at the Danish copies, we read to him our respective reports in English. Thus the whole of our subjects, including toleration, were completely put into his mind. It was a very business-like interview, but ended in some sweet religious intercourse. I spoke fully on the necessity of their supporting simple, sound Christianity, in the midst of the rationalism of priests and people with which they are surrounded.

We next called on the Queen Dowager, at Fredericksburg. She is seventy-four, an afflicted widow, of a pleasing person, and reminded us of our late dear aunt, Jane Gurney. She was greatly affected by the interview. In the evening we had a good Friends'

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meeting at the hotel, attended by many pious people, chiefly of the upper class; it was a blessed ending of the day. I cannot add more; suffice it to say, that we are now safely at Lubeck.

Proceeding from Lubeck, by way of Hanover, they came to Pyrmont, where there is a small body of persons professing the principles of Friends.

Pyrmont, 9th mo., 5th, 1841.

* * * We arrived [here] at nine o'clock [yesterday evening] and were warmly welcomed at the "Stadt Bremen;" with the inmates of which my sister and our niece were already familiar. The people seemed delighted at their return. Our friend, August Mundhenck, met us; and we arranged our meetings with him for the next day. He is an interesting, religious young man, prospering in business, but, I hope, bound to a better cause; to us a great helper as an interpreter, as he speaks English well. We attended the usual meeting at ten o'clock; about thirty Friends, and perhaps twice the number of others. My sister spoke first, explaining our manner of worship; after which I was much engaged in preaching the everlasting gospel, Mundhenck interpreting for me sentence by sentence. In the afternoon, the Friends held their two months' meeting. We were very glad of the opportunity of attending it, singular as it was to have all the proceedings in German. I thought the business well conducted; men and women sitting together. When it was concluded, I spoke, and my sister followed. I afterwards prayed. The little flock seemed much comforted, and their tears flowed abundantly. In the evening we had a further meeting at the hotel. I was much engaged in ministry, as was my sister, and the meeting again ended in prayer. It was a blessed time; the Lord's power being, as we believe, over all. Thus we continue to have abundant cause for thankfulness; and certainly it is a great comfort to be once more with Friends. I feel very quiet; my mind not high, but unruffled; and, after some little perplexity, our path for the remainder of the present month seems opening before us with a good degree of clearness. We expect to get

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through our visit to the dear Friends here by to-morrow evening; and to effect a similar object at Minden, on third and fourth days, so as to return to Hanover on fourth day night. It is our desire to be preserved from going out of the way which the Lord is pleased to cast up before us; and in no degree to do "our own pleasure," except when it falls in with his; but I never felt more entirely unworthy, except for Christ's sake, or more entirely unfit, except through the direct influence of the Spirit, for the least participation in the work and service of the Lord. It is a great satisfaction to me to have this opportunity of facilitating the course of my beloved sister, as from place to place she has been eminently qualified for her work; and many, very many, are they who rise up round about her, and call her blessed in the name of the Lord.

Hanover, fifth day, 9th mo., 9th.

My last journal was despatched from Pyrmont on second day, bringing me to the peaceful dawn of that morning, after a good public meeting the evening before. August Mundhenck joined us after breakfast, and then accompanied my sister and me to the three families of Friends residing in the town, two of them widows with daughters, the other a widower with a daughter and three grown-up sons. We also called on Dr. Menke, who is a person much interested in natural history, and very kind to the little flock of Friends. These visits were very pleasant; and I believe "the word preached" was applicable to the condition of the parties. This duty performed, we drove to Friedensthal, or the valley of peace, one mile and a half from the town, a lovely place, where reside John Seebohm, (Benjamin Seebohm's brother,) and his large family; the late Louis Seebohm's widow and her daughter; and August Mundhenck and his little girl; separate houses, but one community, connected with a large establishment in the wool trade. At the distance of half a mile is the village of Löwensen, where the Persch family, and the widow Tellgmann and her daughter live. The families mentioned compose the whole of the little society; certainly a very pleasing and interesting company. We dined at half-past one, at John Seebohm's,

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the whole family circle being assembled. It was a very pleasant occasion, and was concluded by a precious time of religious communication. [In the evening] I joined my sister and our faithful interpreter, Mundhenck, in a visit to the two families at Löwensen; after which we met a large assembly of the work people of the factory, and others, at Friedensthal. It was a good meeting, in which the truths of the gospel, and its practical application, were plainly set forth. We returned to Pyrmont, after an affectionate and touching leave taking, late at night; and about eight o'clock the next morning, third day, the 8th, set off, with Mundhenck for our guide, for Minden.

On our way we visited one of the great prisons of the State of Hanover, at Hameln, a town which, during the French war, was laid waste by Napoleon. My sister had seen it last year, when she found the prisoners, even when at work, heavily loaded with irons. She had represented the case to the Government; and the late Queen, who died in the summer, particularly requested, during her illness, that all my sister's suggestions might be attended to. The happy consequence was the removal of all the chains, by which both the comforts and conduct of the prisoners have been much improved. It was interesting to observe the warm and joyful welcome which my sister met with in this prison, where she was already known, both by the prisoners and their keepers, and even by the old soldiers on guard.

On our way from Hameln to Minden, we passed through the town of Bückeburg, beautifully situated in the rich valley of the Weser, surrounded by lofty, wooded hills, descending precipitously on one side; the range assuming, in consequence, the appearance of a stair-case, laid horizontally on the earth. This is the capital of the small, independent principality of Lippe-Schaumberg. The inhabitants of the district were flocking to the town, for it was market day. I never saw so original a costume, the women in fine reds, with gay gilded caps descending in a point over the forehead, and large necklaces of pure amber. The men in neat frocks, dark blue stockings, and broad brimmed hats, with supporters. They seemed to us an innocent and agreeable people.

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We arrived at the strongly fortified town of Minden, on the Weser, about three o'clock; found a good hotel ready for our reception; dined, and spent the afternoon in religious visits to two families, the Peitsmeyers, and the Schelps. John Rasche, the principal Friend of the place, and the widowed father of a large young family, was also called upon. At seven o'clock in the evening, a public meeting assembled in crowds, in a large room at the hotel. It was, I believe, a good time, and notwithstanding the bustle of a crowd which we could not accommodate, the great truths of the gospel of Christ appeared to have free course among the people.

The next morning, after sitting with the two families of Rasche, we held another large meeting, in a capacious public room. It was a time when the true anointing was evidently poured forth; and great, indeed, was the attention of the people. After the meeting was over, the Friends retired into their own Meeting-house, a humble upstairs room, which would have been utterly unsafe for the multitude which we had just dismissed. Including the children, there were, I suppose, about forty present, and a very precious time we had with them. Afterwards the children, who are numerous, sat down in the school kept by the honest and pious Schelp; and I was greatly pleased both with their cleanly and sober appearance, and the readiness with which they answered my Scripture questions. On the whole we are cheered in the belief, that there is true life in the body, and that the "candlestick" will not be removed "out of its place."

After a short visit to the prisons, and a little meeting in one of them, (the prison for soldiers,) we left Minden in much quietness and peace. We were anxious to reach Hanover, forty-five miles, in good time at night; but were stayed on our road at the picturesque Bückeburg, where we found that the Princess, (sister to the Prince of Pyrmont,) had set her mind on holding a philanthropic meeting. A large company met us at the hotel. My sister spoke to them on her usual subjects, with remarkable effect, after a few introductory sentences from me; and I afterwards concluded the meeting, with a brief but expressive declaration, as I hope, of gospel truth. Love and good-will flowed

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abundantly. Among the persons present were the Prince and Princess, their son and two daughters, and the young Prince Hohenlohe. It was a bright and memorable occasion. After a hasty dinner we repaired to the castle or palace, where we took tea with the agreeable reigning family of the principality, and were met by a large party of ladies and others. I enjoyed an interesting conversation with the Prince and his son about the West Indies. It is particularly satisfactory thus to find our way into the hearts of cultivated, as well as uncultivated society, wherever we go. We shall not soon forget the pretty Bückeburg, from which place a drive of six hours brought us at midnight to Hanover, fourth day, 9th mo., 8th.

Berlin, first day night, 9th mo., 12th.

At Hanover we were desirous of an interview with the king. I called at the palace to explain our wishes to General During, his personal attendant, with whom I left the address of the Anti-slavery Convention to the king, of which I was the bearer. Soon afterwards a letter to my sister arrived from the king himself, expressing deep regret at not being able to receive us, and speaking of her friendship with his late "beloved" wife in very affectionate terms, desiring a blessing on our philanthropic journey. He hinted that it was not only business, but his own afflicted state of mind, which prevented his giving us an audience. Our only course left, was to address a letter to him, on the several points in his prisons, which required notice, with some general remarks which we wished to make. I had the laborious task of preparing this document, in the midst of interruptions from callers, &c., but happily accomplished it in time to send it the same evening. In the meantime, the prison visiting ladies, and the pastors and other gentlemen who were conducting a new Patronage Society for the care of criminals after they leave their prisons, were thronging around us. The tide kept flowing on, until, at the appointed hour in the evening, (seven o'clock,) the great *salle á manger* of the hotel was *crowded* with ladies and gentlemen. I have seldom seen a more attentive or intelligent company. After

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my sister had done full justice to her prison subject, I gave them a short chapter on slavery and the West Indies; August Mundhenck being our interpreter. The most lively interest seemed to be excited; and, when the meeting was over, we gave tea and distributed books in our own apartments. Nothing could exceed the friendly and loving demeanour of the people, unless it was their eagerness to obtain our books; and it seemed as if they would not, or could not, quit us. At length, however, the rooms were cleared, and we retired to rest, at once, thankful for the evening, and very tired. * * *

A cruel case of persecution had taken place at Othfresen, near the Hartz mountains. This place happened to lie on our way to Berlin. We sent Mundhenck forward to ascertain the facts, and the next morning, the 10th, in good time, (seven o'clock,) we left Hanover at a quick rate, journeying along a pleasant country till eleven at night, about 110 miles, by Hildesheim and Halberstadt, to Magdeburg. On our way we stopped at the village of Othfresen; ascertained the case of the little persecuted society of Baptists, about fourteen in number; replenished their purses a little, (one man had lost all his furniture by legal seizure for holding a meeting in his own house,) and took an affectionate leave of our dear and useful Mundhenck. Our journey that day, though long, was peaceful, and the Hartz mountains in the distance, so famous for a variety of metallic productions, and teeming with the lessons of geology, were an agreeable spectacle, as we drove along through a well cultivated and well peopled country. We dined at the fine old town of Halberstadt. The weather delicious, and the sky, at sun-set, like the skies of New England. Magdeburg, with its 55,000 inhabitants and strong fortifications, is a very handsome old town. The principal street, justly called *Die breite strasse*, (the broad way,) is very grotesque and good looking, and the cathedral very handsome.

In the morning we spent an hour or two in viewing the place, and in visiting the state prison. The vast fortifications of this town have been its great misery. They have attracted war, and this afflicted city has again and again been beseiged, starved,

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taken, and pillaged. The Austrian General, Tilly, in the thirty years' war, sacked it in defence of Popery, and slew 30,000 of the inhabitants! How little can we conceive the horrors of war, or the extent of the miseries inflicted on mankind by the alliance of ecclesiastical authority or pretension, with the temporal sword of princes!

At eleven o'clock yesterday, the 11th, we took the railroad for Berlin, and spent many hours in a very circuitous course. For this we were in measure repaid by a good view of Wittemberg, the celebrated scene of many of Luther's exploits; his home too; and the home of Melancthon. We clearly saw Luther's monastery, built for him by Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony. The whole scene was to me peculiarly interesting.

This very extensive and beautiful city, [Berlin,] of 300,000 inhabitants, is placed in the midst of a vast plain of sand. Why such a site should have been chosen, it is difficult to imagine. Our excellent Hotel de Russie is situated in the midst of magnificent palaces, and other such buildings; the general appearance of this part of the city being equal to the best parts of London or Paris. A long and interesting call from General Thial, the President of the Bible Society, and Prime Minister of Prussia, has taken up part of this morning. He is an old soldier but his countenance beams with benevolence as well as talent; and I have no doubt that he is a lively-minded Christian. Such a journey as this demolishes all sorts of prejudice, but it in no degree shakes our belief in the truth and reality of our principles. Lord William Russell, our Minister, and many others, have also been calling. Our friend August Beyerhaus, a Christian indeed, is an effective helper and interpreter.

I have been busy writing to the King of Hanover, about the persecuted Baptists. This evening we have been favoured with a good meeting, after reading the Scriptures, with about eighty people at the hotel; an intelligent and interesting audience. I was led into a train of close argument in defence of the faith once delivered to the saints, and was excellently interpreted for. All seemed attentive, and I believe I was fully understood. My

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sister followed with great sweetness and force. Thus, at the close of another first day, we feel that we have cause for reverent gratitude to the Author of all good.

Neustädtel, in Silesia, 9th mo., 15th.

Our visit to Berlin was, I believe, of some importance; though a time of no small pressure on our own minds. I have already described our meeting for worship on first day evening. I had afterwards reason to believe that the discourse was well understood, and adapted to the unbelieving condition of many in Berlin. It is, however, cheering to find, that neological views are gradually becoming less prevalent, and that the younger class of ministers is sounder and more enlightened than the elder. It is said there are about twenty ministers of religion in Berlin, (of all denominations,) who preach the *gospel;* the population 300,000. Their places for worship are well attended; the other churches neglected both by pastors and flocks. The Sabbath is very poorly observed, and I fear immorality abounds. Our morning on second day was closely occupied. I went with a gentleman named Lobeck, to visit a celebrated institution for the education and reform of young criminals, under the care of Kopff and his wife, persons eminently gifted for their station. I was delighted with the order of the establishment, and with the masterly management of the boys, about eighty in number; they are well taught, and employed in various branches of industry when out of school. When I was speaking to them of the law of God, written on the heart, one of them instantly quoted Romans ii, 14, "When the Gentiles who have not the law," &c. Afterwards we walked across a sandy plain to call on Gossner, an evangelical minister, who was once a Roman Catholic, preached at Petersburg many years, and was at last driven from that place. For several years past he has exercised his ministry at Berlin. He is a person of very extensive influence, sends out missionaries, distributes vast numbers of Bibles, and, in his preaching, remarkably falls in with the views of Friends. He is much attached to Stephen Grellet, whom he described to me as the most spiritual Christian he had met with in

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any denomination. We found the dear man, now in years, but still active, at a comfortable cottage, built for him by one of his people; and very interesting to me was our conversation. He gave me a lively description of the state of religion in these parts; my object being to ascertain what points, affecting the best welfare of the people, required our attention in our probable interview with the king. He is full of life, intellectually as well as spiritually, and seemed to be quite joyous at heart—an example, I thought, for *me*, who often find myself bowing down the head "like a bulrush."

After my sister had secured a little rest, we went together to the Elizabeth Hospital, under the care of Gossner, containing from eighty to a hundred sick women. The matron is a "lady," who devotes herself voluntarily to the service; and the pleasing young women who perform the office of nurse, receive no wages, but do it for the "love of Christ;" true sisters of charity they seemed to be. The spirit of Christianity, in a remarkable manner, appeared to pervade the whole house. Gossner and some pious ladies accompanied us from ward to ward; and my sister's gentle administrations were received with the greatest avidity.

On our way home, we called on Baron Kottwitz, a very aged Christian nobleman, who has devoted his life to the care of a great poor house, in part of which he resides. He loves Friends, and has a lively recollection of Thomas Shillitoe. He is himself a noble specimen of a green old age. Lord Augustus Loftus, a pleasing young man attached to the English Embassy, and our friend Beyerhaus, dined with us at six o'clock; and, soon after dinner, our evening meeting in the great saloon began to assemble in large numbers. It was understood to be a philanthropic meeting, and the greatest interest seemed to be excited by my account of slavery and the slave trade, and the effects of freedom in the West Indies; and my sister was listened to with equal attention in her concluding discourse on prisons, education, the daily use of the Scriptures, &c. There was a good feeling over the meeting. A large tea party followed, and the closing scene was one of much peace and love.

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On third day morning we found, to our grief, that my dear sister had been very ill during the night. We had arranged to visit the great prison at Spandau, ten miles from Berlin, and had afterwards sixty miles to travel. Happily our faith did not fail us. She got better, took to the carriage at nine o'clock; and Beyerhaus, she, and I, drove off to Spandau. Lieutenant Schultz, who has been persecuted under military law for distributing tracts, a great friend of Peter Bedford's, also accompanied us. At Spandau, we were kindly received by the Christian Governor of the prison; and had some remarkable religious opportunities with companies of the prisoners. It is a well ordered prison; and my sister had the comfort of finding that her suggestions, made last year, had most of them been attended to, and her wishes carried into execution; to the great advantage of many hundred criminals, especially as it regarded food, superintendence, and religious instruction. Thus a new evidence was afforded her, that her labour was not in vain in the Lord. Nothing but a little faith could have enabled her, in her apparently weak condition, to perform this visit; but this was not all, for a letter was received on behalf of a lady on her death bed, earnestly requesting my sister to come to her. Late and tired, we felt best satisfied to go out of our way to see this lady, but we were rewarded. She could speak English, and a sweeter specimen of a Christian sufferer I have very seldom seen. It was a time of much consolation, ending with solemn prayer; but death did not to us appear very near at hand. Delightful it certainly is, to see the true work of grace going on in so many different places, and under such a variety of circumstances.

We now rested for a short time; and, after an early repast, took an affectionate leave of several persons who surrounded us on our departure, and drove off on the road towards Silesia. Happily we found it macadamized, and, by dint of rapid travelling, we reached Frankfort on the Oder, (sixty miles,) about half-past nine o'clock at night; my sister not the worse for her journey.

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Hirschberg, Silesia, sixth day morning, 17th.

Our journey yesterday was very rapid, on the beautiful high road towards Breslau, as far as Lüben. We then turned off to Liegnitz, which is a handsome old city, fifteen miles; and from thence forty miles over a mountainous and highly picturesque country. In consequence of the many hills, our journey was slow, and we were obliged to travel with six horses. We arrived here at night; it is a picturesque town, of 7000 inhabitants, supported by the domestic linen manufacture, carried on in the cottages all about the country; it being a land of flax. * * *

9th mo., 20th.

* * * We are in the midst of a most delightful country, cultivated valleys reposing in amphitheatres of noble mountains, the Schnee-kopf (snow-head) especially towering to the height of 5000 feet, pretty little villages interspersed all around, and a few very fine *châteaux* adorning the scene. The three principal of these are royal residences; Erdmannsdorf, that of the King and Queen when in their country retirement; Fischbach, that of Prince Wilhelm, the King's uncle; and Schildau, that of Prince Frederick, of the Netherlands, who married the King's sister. Next to these comes Buckwald, the noble demense of the Countess Reden, who is here fulfilling most important duties. She has a large Bible Society under her care, consisting of 261 districts; they have distributed 54,000 Bibles. She is also the patroness of the Tyrolese, who were banished four years since from their own country, on account of their religion, and were placed under the Countess's care by the late king; a singular looking, grotesque, but agreeable people, I hope many of them Christians indeed. Swiss cottages have been built for them, and lands allotted to them, among these charming mountains. Above all, the Countess exercises an important influence, in the right direction, with the royal family; and is the private friend and adviser of the King and Queen. She is very like the late Hannah More, wearing her hair and cap in the same manner, and, like her, lively and

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productive, naturally and spiritually. She has, moreover, a maiden sister living with her, comparable to Hannah More's sister Patty.

On our arrival at Hirschberg, last fifth day, we expected to have been met by a letter from the Princess Wilhelm of Fischbach; but were disappointed, and found that her residence was ten miles off. We generally find that in every place which we visit, our patience is tried for a season. [In the morning] a letter arrived from the Princess, requesting us to come to her *schloss* or castle, at three o'clock, and afterwards to dine with her, and her husband, and family, at four. Thus our way was beginning to open. Our drive of an hour and a half lay through a delightful valley, mountains all around us, and two rocky ones covered with fir, of a fine conical shape, marking the site of Fischbach. The approach to the *château* is lovely, and the old mansion itself highly picturesque. We were very kindly received by the Princess; but I soon found that the whole affair was much more royal than I had imagined. She is a stately, queen-like lady, with a countenance full of tender and kind expression. Prince Wilhelm her husband, soon entered with his sons, Prince Adalbert and Waldemar, agreeable young men; and Prince Charles of Berlin, who talks English well, the younger brother of the King. Our table was well spread in a long gallery, and the dinner was quite an agreeable occasion.

In the evening the Queen joined the party, and met my dear sister with warm affection. She is a delicate looking woman, of a countenance which marks much feeling, the daughter of the late King of Bavaria; once a Roman Catholic, but now a Protestant by conviction; and, I really believe, a humble Christian. What higher praise for a Queen? I felt the weight of this royal party, which was attended by numerous *aides-de-camps*, *dames d'honneur*, &c.; but there was no feeling which warranted any attempt at religious service, beyond free, and, I hope, not unedifying conversation; everybody speaking either German or French. The latter was, of course, my allotment; and I endeavoured to vary a long dinner by some account of the West

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Indies. Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, and his amiable wife, also joined the party.

We could not say that the day turned to any great account, yet it opened our door wide, and led to some interesting results. We were all truly interested by the Princess Wilhelm. We were glad to return at night in peace and safety, by a long evening drive to our comfortable hotel. This was sixth day. On seventh day I began to prepare our letter to the King, which we hoped to present to him in case of his coming. The thing wanted, was a clear, full document, on all the points which we wished to lay before him: viz.,— Prisons, he state of them in Prussia, the various points in them which required amendment, prison discipline associations, ladies' visiting committees, the best mode of constructing the intended new prisons, the keeping of the Sabbath, the promotion of evangelical religion, the Christian education of rich as well as poor, neology in the universities, the necessity of counteracting it, temperance, capital punishment, that of the wheel especially, the free toleration of sects, the disabilities of our friends at Minden, and finally peace.

I cannot describe the sort of pressure, and the weight of care and feeling which the preparation of such papers involves, especially as it is scarcely possible to resist the rapid stream, which is all the while driving me hither and thither. So it was with us on seventh day, which was nevertheless a very agreeable one. We waited on the Queen, by appointment, at the beautiful Erdmannsdorf, at eleven o'clock; and enjoyed about an hour's interesting and truly edifying private conversation with her, the Countess Reden only being present with us. The Queen seems closely attached to our dear sister, and permitted us to arrange with her the time for an interview with the King, in case of his arrival. From Erdmannsdorf, we proceeded to Schildau, the *Schloss* of the Prince and Princess of the Netherlands, given to them as a present, two years ago, by her father, the late King of Prussia. It is a fine new house, castellated in form, and reposing in the midst of a noble mountain. Prince Frederick is remarkably kind, sensible, and gentlemanlike; and, since his influence (as a

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respected brother) is great in the Netherlands, we were glad of the opportunity of explaining to him the nature of our several philanthropic objects.

From the elegant Schildau we drove to Buckwald, the seat of the Countess Reden, whose agreeable old *château* is surrounded by wood, lawn, water, and mountains; the grounds, about six miles in circumference, laid out with a good deal of taste, and some spots in them of exquisite beauty. We dined there about half-past two o'clock, meeting the King's Chamberlain, Count Stolberg, a man of very high character, and several others. Our little company was composed of Christian people, and our intercourse was refreshing.

In the evening, the Princess Wilhelm, and her daughter Marie, joined our party for a time, and several other interesting people; and the Countess interpreted for my sister, while she told her tale of prisons. Mutual gratification seemed to prevail among the strangers, and their kind entertainers. Certainly we have met with abundant kindness. I was interested by a conversation with an elder Count Stolberg, the brother of the Lord Chamberlain, who has a vast estate in these parts, a sensible and pious man. He says the poor people in this beautiful district of valleys and mountains are much distressed. Flax is the staple of the country, and the people are mostly engaged in the domestic manufacture of linen. We saw some beautiful specimens of their table cloths, &c.; but they are surpassed by machinery in other places, and live on a very scanty pittance. Every landed proprietor is compelled to support the poor on his own estate; Count S—— has 5000 people depending on him. Poor as they are, however, they are a pleasing, well-mannered race, and when one walks out in the early part of the day, every passing peasant, young or old, male or female, greets one with a bow and "*gut morgen.*" We had now shifted our quarters from Hirschberg to Schumiedeberg, a beautiful village, near the residences of our friends; and were glad to find our rest there, after a pleasant and interesting day.

The next day was our sabbath, and a very remarkable one it proved. I was engaged most closely the first part of the morning,

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in writing our document for the King, which I had only just begun on seventh day; at twelve we went by appointment to the Countess Reden's, who accompanied us, with a number of Christian ladies, to the Princess Wilhelm, at Fischbach. My sister's account of the prisons, given to a few the preceding evening, had excited the curiosity of more, and the object of the *réunion* was to hear what she had to say. She gave the subject a Christian turn, which I also endeavoured to do, when speaking of the West Indies. The Countess had sent a courier sixty miles to fetch two Moravian brethren to act as our interpreters, and excellently did they perform their task. Though the subjects were not of the highest order, it was, in spirit and feeling, a sweet little meeting, ending with direct religious communication; the Princess was deeply interested.

On our return to our hotel to dinner, we met the king, who passed us rapidly in his carriage. Rejoiced enough was I to see him pass; as I knew that his continued absence would either have detained us, or frustrated our concern. He bowed to us, but I believe did not perceive who or what we were; but how deeply interesting has been our subsequent communication with him! It had been fixed ever since our arrival, that a meeting should be held that evening in the Countess's saloon, at Buckwald, with the poor Tyrolese, and all who wished to attend. We went thither to drink tea at six o'clock. Soon the rooms began to be thronged with the high gentry and ladies of the neighbourhood. The Princess Wilhelm had engaged to come, but it was an agreeable surprise to me to see the prince and his eldest son (Prince Adalbert) enter with her. Soon afterwards, several of the court began to arrive, and the intelligence was brought that both the King and the Queen were coming to the meeting. His brother, Prince Charles, and Prince and Princess Frederick, of the Netherlands, were with us before him, and at length came the King and Queen.

He seemed delighted to see my sister, and most kindly shook hands with me, having a lively recollection of my brother Samuel. He is rather a stout person, looking nearly fifty years old, his

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countenance intelligent and beaming with kindness, and his manners unaffected. The time for the meeting was now come. The Tyrolese, about 200, in their grotesque habiliments, occupied the bottom of the room, and they being too much crowded, the King began to move the seats of the gentry with his own hands, to accommodate them with more space, a fine example for his grandee subjects, and for us all. The Countess wished for a hymn as soon as the people were seated, and before our service should commence, the like after it was ended; prayer was the burden of the first song, and praise of the second. It was no business of ours, and I could only enjoy the interest of the sight; so many of the royal family, and a multitude of the great in this world, uniting with the poor Tyrolese peasants, in what I believe was to many of them an act of worship. After the hymn ceased, I believed it best to rise. My sister and I, and our two interpreters, were at the upper end of the room; on our right, the King, Queen, Princesses, the Countess, and a few other great ladies; on our left, the Princes Wilhelm, Charles, Frederick, and Adalbert; a crowd of ladies and gentlemen behind and before; the Tyrolese immediately in front of us, but at the other end of the room; the high, conical hats of the women towering aloft. The men wear similar hats, but were now uncovered. There was a sweet tranquillity and true solemnity over us. I briefly explained the views of Friends respecting worship, the spirituality of the gospel dispensation, women's preaching, &c. This opened the way for my beloved sister, who was powerfully engaged in ministry for a considerable time, speaking (by desire of the King, who wished to save her fatigue) from her seat. The first part of her address was to the Tyrolese, beautifully adapted to their condition; she applied the words, "I was a stranger and ye took me in," to the late King's benevolent reception of these refugees; and spoke of him in a manner which touched all hearts. She then turned to the great ones, and rivetted their closest attention. It was her usual strain of plain, wholesome truth, applied with the nicest touch of tenderness. I followed at some length, in a declaration of the essential truths of the gospel of

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Christ, alike applicable to prince and peasant; particularly dwelling on the judgment to come, and the doctrine of our responsibility, the parable of the talents, &c. There was a precious solemnity over all. The interpreters partook of the unction poured forth, especially a dear, simple-hearted young man who interpreted for me. The King and other members of the family seemed to feel the occasion. When the meeting broke up he gave me an affectionate shake of the hand, and thanked me warmly for what I had been led to say. With my sister he was still more loving. Truly all thanks for this memorable, precious meeting, were due to the Author of all good!

After a quiet, solemn time of prayer, with the Countess and a few others, with whom we were at last left, we returned, tired, but very thankful, to our hotel; but rest was not my portion, as I was obliged to sit up till past midnight over the document which I had to present to the King on the following day; and rose again on second day (yesterday) morning at six o'clock, to finish it. I got through the great task by eleven o'clock; read the sheets with my sister and Countess Reden, who fully approved them; and we then set off for the palace at Erdmannsdorf, where we were quickly ushered into the Queen's sitting-room. The King soon joined us. We four were alone together for more than two hours; a most interesting interview it was. We first went through the whole document, and freely conversed with them on each successive point. The King developed a clear, penetrating mind, great knowledge of the several subjects, a heart full of feeling, and, above all, decided and unquestionable Christian principle. I think it might be said, with little exception, that our views and judgments corresponded with his on every particular. He seemed much interested with the account we gave him of our Friends at Minden, who, in consequence of not being able to take up arms, are deprived of some of the rights of citizenship, and cannot buy land.

After we had gone through all our business, my sister requested leave to read a few texts, which she believed to be applicable to

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their condition. First, a text or two for the Queen; and then for the King, which led to further serious expression. It was a heart-tendering time, and ended with solemn prayer from her lips. Elizabeth and Anna were then called in to speak to them, and we parted in true friendship and love. The King paid us the attention of coming down stairs and seeing us off. A crowd of people near the door surrounded him and ourselves on the occasion, and we drove off, amidst their kind tokens of affection, in very sweet peace.

Their course was now directed homeward, by way of Dresden, Leipsic, Halle, and Elberfeld.

At Halle, our friend Tholuck, the celebrated evangelical professor, being absent, we called on Gesenius, another far-famed, learned, German theologian, who received us kindly, and sent his son to guide us—first to the *Franke* Orphan House, so called from its liberal founder, of whom there is a delightfully-expressive statue in bronze, by Rauch, the great living sculptor of Berlin. The statue is placed in the vast court yard, on either side of which are ranged the buildings, where 500 orphans are boarded, and about 3000 children taught; the poor gratis—the rich for pay. Bibles are also printed there to an enormous extent. It is a noble institution. We afterwards visited the buildings of the University, lately erected. They have 700 or 800 students, whom, however, I did not see, as it was the long vacation. Great numbers are here educated for the Christian ministry; but I fear that, among the numerous professors and teachers, the number of the evangelical and orthodox is not very great. Gesenius, who is a man of vast learning, visited us, with his daughters, in the evening. We quite enjoyed his company; but I do not know exactly whether he ranges among the more serious, or among the speculative religionists. It is sad to think of the multitudes of young men in the German universities, who are in the way of neological teaching; but all acknowledge that matters are improving.

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9th mo., 30th.

* * * Elberfeld is a place of cutlery, &c.; the Birmingham, or Pittsburg of Germany. In coming to it, we passed through another large town adjoining it, called Barmen, which is peculiarly handsome and clean; looking all thrift; the linen, manufactured in the neighbourhood, lying in large quantities on the bleach grounds. We had particularly wished to make our acquaintance with the people at Elberfeld, as the place is remarkable for pious persons, and the diffusion of evangelical truth; and we were not disappointed. We arrived at four in the afternoon; and having established ourselves at the hotel, (Henninghausenhof,) where we left my sister for her needful rest, Elizabeth, Anna, and I, with our friend Mary Anne Murray, an interesting lady who had come from Düsseldorf to meet us, went in search of Pastor Krummacher, whose writings, Elijah the Tishbite, &c., are so justly admired. We found him at his house, with his agreeable wife and sister; and a charming person he is; full of life and vigour, intellectually and spiritually. We told him of our wish to receive any persons who might like to see us at our hotel in the evening; and although it was so late in the day, a large company assembled at eight o'clock. We were favoured with a very interesting evening; beginning with conversation on philanthropic subjects, and ending with what was more serious, solemn, and reviving. Christian love did indeed flow on the occasion, and Krummacher's address, at the close of the meeting, was peculiarly striking and touching. I have no doubt that he is a valiant of no common order in the army of the Lamb. Another pastor of the name of Kursel also interested and pleased us much.

On fourth day morning, (yesterday,) the ladies were collected to form a prison society. Afterwards, Krummacher accompanied me to the prison, my sister not being well enough to go, and we had several good opportunities with different companies of prisoners; in which we were both engaged in a little true ministry, as I trust. We left Elberfeld, thankful for the help afforded us, and with our minds much relieved; a rail-road train conveyed us to Düsseldorf, another large and interesting place,

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which we had particularly wished to visit before we left England. Elizabeth, Anna, and I, spent the afternoon in visiting Düsselthal Abbey, in the immediate neighbourhood, where Count and Countess Von der Recke keep their large establishment for the support and education of the children of the poor; orphans, and the most destitute of mankind. The plan was undertaken after the war with France, as some alleviation of the horrors and miseries occasioned by it; and has been carried on with great success for more than twenty years; the object being to teach the children industry, agriculture, sometimes trades, and, above all, religion. The count, who is the head of an old, noble family, is very talented and pious, full of vivacity, but speaking only German. I held a meeting with the various members of the establishment, including the children; all being assembled in the chapel. I was interpreted for by Meyer, the simple-hearted young chaplain of the place; and I believe it was a pretty good time. The countess has seven children, and conducts the whole domestic department with admirable skill. In the evening, a large number of our friends assembled at our hotel. I felt disposed to give them some account of the West Indies, and my sister had a few sentences on prisons, but afterwards she was remarkably led into ministry; and I believed it right to speak again on the influences of the Holy Spirit. My sister concluded the meeting with prayer. It was, indeed, a solemn time, the intervals of silence being peculiarly touching and still; and the whole meeting formed a precious conclusion of our labours, leaving us nothing to do but to return home.

At Dover, Joseph John Gurney writes:—

10th mo., 3rd.

* * * Yesterday morning, at half-past ten o'clock, we went on board the post-office steamer [from Ostend] to this place. My dear sister was soon much refreshed by the sea; and we were favoured with an almost perfect calm, which rendered our voyage easy and agreeable; and our minds were at rest, in the feeling that the work required of us had, through divine grace and mercy, been accomplished.

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CHAPTER XXXIX.

1841—1843. ÆT. 54—55.

MARRIAGE; RE-SETTLEMENT AT HOME; EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL; VISIT TO FRIENDS IN BRISTOL, &C.; TWO NARROW ESCAPES; RELIGIOUS ENGAGEMENTS IN NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK; TOTAL ABSTINENCE; PUBLICATION OF HIS WORK "ON THE PAPAL AND HIERARCHICAL SYSTEM;" COMMENCEMENT OF JOURNEY IN FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND; BOULOGNE; AMIENS; CLERMONT; PARIS.

Soon after his return home, Joseph John Gurney accomplished his intentions of marriage with Eliza P. Kirkbride. The event took place at Darlington. In his Journal he writes:—

Fifth day, 10*th mo.*, 21*st.* The solemn, happy, favoured marriage day. I was engaged in prayer in the early part of the meeting, for the manifestation of the Divine sanction, which was, indeed, fully granted. Afterwards Katharine Backhouse in an excellent testimony, and H. C. Backhouse in fervent prayer. After the marriage was complete, I had a few sentences to utter, on the victory which is in "the faith." The dinner party cheerful and agreeable; concluded by a short religious opportunity. My dear wife and I left them, at seven o'clock in the evening, after an affecting parting with her dear, faithful friends, J. and H. C. Backhouse.

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10*th mo.*, 22*nd*. *Catterick Bridge*. Solemn reading and prayer; precious commencement of our daily retirement before the Lord. Drive to Greta bridge. Delightful walk of two hours about the grounds of Rokeby. Spent the evening at the inn.

10*th mo.*, 24*th*. Drive to Aysgarth; a good meeting there. The Friends seemed much cheered by our visit. Mountainous drive of nearly thirty miles farther to this place, (the inn at Bolton bridge,) which we reached at half-past seven o'clock, and soon found a peaceful resting-place. Servants and others collected for a Scripture reading, and a very good time it was.

28*th*. Reached Earlham in health and great peace, at nine o'clock in the evening; the place comfortable and homeish; the reception from my dearest children glowing. Oh! may we be kept perpetually in the hollow of the Lord's holy hand.

11*th mo.*, 6*th*. A quiet, satisfactory day, drawing to its close in peace. Our home circle, including my sister Catherine, is all that heart can desire. We have been reading Horne, and Jonathan Hutchinson's letters. The last are instructive and reviving; treasures once more turning up their bright side, for my pleasure and comfort. I hope there is a good solemnity over us this evening; and renewed are my fervent desires that all may be kept in sweetness, even in conformity to the divine will. Here, alone, is our rest and our strength.

11*th mo.*, 26*th*. I do indeed desire to be kept alive and watchful, ready for the Lord's service here, and for an entrance into his blissful presence, whenever it may please him to call me home to himself. But I do not feel that the time is yet. O Lord! thou hast showered many rich favours and blessings upon me; and now, in a delightful connexion, hast granted me the very desire of my heart. Preserve me, I beseech thee, from in the least degree abusing any of thy precious gifts; make me holy, as thou art holy; and finally gather me, in Christ, to thy glory.

12*th mo.*, 15*th*. "Fear not little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." Is that "good pleasure" without conditions? I do not admire the word *conditions*, as I am a full believer in the absolute freedom of the mercy of God; and

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yet I think that, practically speaking, conditions of the most important character are attached to the act of grace. Nor do I consider the "good pleasure" of the Lord, in such cases, absolute, or destructive of human choice or freedom. "God would have *all* men to be saved." Yet alas! for the "but" which must be understood to follow.

12*th mo.*, 25*th*. This day is one of peaceful seriousness to us. My dear wife and I are quietly together with our children. A peep into the long past has been deeply interesting to me; but I am more inclined to rejoice and be thankful in the present; and after subsiding into my new level, which this day gives me an opportunity of doing, to take a fresh start, and press, with renewed diligence, after the mark for the prize. What is that mark but holiness? even the holy maturity of the Christian character. O that this mark may not only be aimed at, but attained to!

To-day we are enjoying a touch of true sabbatical rest, and the company of my children is peculiarly pleasant. My desires are fervent, that, as I have faithfully endeavoured to bring them up in the truth held by Friends, so they may persevere in this course to the end, and deepen in the root more and more.

1*st mo.*, 3*rd*, 1842. I have more than usually felt the departure of the old year and the commencement of the new one. I have repeatedly observed, that our motto may be, "Thankful for the past—happy in the present—hopeful for the future." May we abide and move together in the very truth!

Third day. The language, read with my dear wife this morning, seems to have been proclaimed to me, "Put off thy ornaments from thee, that I may know what to do unto thee." Lord hear me, and help me to be entirely thy servant, and let my dearest wife and children be one with me, and I with them, in the truth

1*st mo.*, 31*st*. The death of the Niger expedition; very affecting and overcoming to Fowell. I can hardly say why, but I do not feel disturbed by the event, mournful as it is. Rather am I disposed to say, "It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good."

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TO AN OLD AND VALUED ACQUAINTANCE.

1st mo., 1842.

MY DEAR AND LONG-VALUED FRIEND,

My thoughts have been so much directed to thee at the commencement of a new year, and I am so much aware of the the kind of pain to which thy sensitive mind is liable, as natural infirmity increases in the mortal frame, that I feel best satisfied to send thee a few lines to express my Christian love for so old and dear a friend, and my tender sympathy with thee under all thy trials of flesh and spirit.

I often feel a most hearty desire that thou mayest experience the unspeakable happiness of full reconciliation with God through faith in his well-beloved Son, the appointed Saviour of the world.

Dost thou remember saying to me after a solemn religious opportunity which immediately followed the death of my first wife, "Joseph you are right, Joseph you are right." And right I am, my dear ———, so far as regards the truth and importance of the great essential doctrines of Christianity, for these are no cunningly devised fables, but substantial realities; awful realities to those who reject them, but full of comfort and hope to all who are truly humbled under a sense of their sins, and who take refuge by faith in the Lord Jesus, "the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world." May they be full of comfort and hope to thee, my dear friend, and as flesh and heart fail may the Lord himself be the strength of thy heart and thy portion for ever!

I am sure thou wilt excuse, I think thou wilt approve, my freedom; and may the Almighty be near to bless thee and thine, that after passing through all the shifting scenes of life you may be a family united in heaven!

In the spring of this year he was engaged, in company with his wife, in a short visit to Friends in Bristol and Gloucester; and in attending, on his return, the Quarterly Meeting of Friends in London.

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TO HIS SISTER ELIZABETH FRY,

(then in a feeble state of health.)

Norwich, 4th mo., 4th, 1842.

My heart and mind have been much drawn towards thee in tender love and sympathy since we parted. I rest in the sweet hope that thou wilt yet be strengthened in mind and body to do the Lord's work, where and when he pleases, and be enabled to bear that measure of searching and proving which may be permitted to fall to thy lot. It is good for us to lie low, and patiently to wait, until we receive the divine sanction for arising in the Lord's own power for his service. In the meantime I hope that nothing will discourage thee; but that much peace and even joy in the Holy Ghost will be thy portion. I can truly say that all that I have seen and known of late years confirms my sense of the importance and excellence of unbiassed, genuine, Quaker views and practices. But may we be preserved from the shoals on either side, for there is neither life nor safety to be known in them!

Joseph John Gurney's leisure had been of late occupied in the revision, (in conference with a committee of Friends in London,) of his work on the Distinguishing Views of Friends, with a view to a new and stereotyped edition soon afterwards published. On its completion, notwithstanding some accession of bodily infirmity, his mind was turned to other important labours.

4th mo., 25th. We were favoured with a good Sabbath yesterday. The meetings were satisfactory, and several young men joined our large reading party in the evening. The whole past week has been one of tranquillity, and many a daily blessing has been poured into our cup; yet I have been permitted to feel much of my own nothingness and poverty; and even the sweet and solemn meeting which we enjoyed last fifth day, left me

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where it found me, in the dust, spiritually. But there is more of a spring of pleasure this morning. May all our hearts be tuned to praise!

I am regularly correcting the sheets of the Observations for the stereotyper; and am writing something on the contrast between the Papal system and the religion of the New Testament.

6*th mo.*, 13*th*. More than a month has passed away since I last wrote, and here I am at home with my beloved wife, after having passed a most interesting thirteen days with her alone; five at Walton on the Essex coast, one in travelling, and a week at home. During this period I have been very poorly, though Walton seemed to recover me, and this morning I am better than for many days past.

I look back upon the Yearly Meeting with great comfort. It was a time of harmony, and a time of life, my dear sister Fry taking her part and place in great brightness. H. C. Backhouse had excellent meetings with the nobility and the Jews, in two of which I was enabled to assist. On the whole it has been an occasion for the strengthening of our faith; and I humbly trust, through infinite condescension on the part of our Holy Head, we may go on our way rejoicing, trusting in the Lord.

At our Monthly Meeting on fifth day I obtained a minute for some service with Friends and others, during the next few months, as way may open, and health permit, in Norfolk and Suffolk. In this I feel peace, and my dear wife is mentioned in the minute as intending to accompany me. May we bow under the holy hand of our Lord, and stand open to every call of religious duty!

6*th mo.*, 25*th*. We have, under the merciful providence of our heavenly Father, passed a truly happy time since the last entry, notwithstanding two hair-breadth escapes;—one from a large mad dog which ran up to our door, and, just as my dearest wife and I were going to step into the carriage, fell suddenly into convulsions, and was afterwards shot in the garden—the other from my taking the liquid of potash instead of my usual draught. This happened in the early part of this week; and it is probable that my life was saved by my wife immediately giving me castor oil, which acted

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as an emetic before the liquor found its way into the stomach. I have suffered a good deal from the soreness of the throat and œsophagus produced by the burn, but am now over it, and much as before in health; feeble, but pretty well.

6th mo., 27th. I have had somewhat of a relapse the last two days, with a decided return of some unfavourable symptoms; so that if anything like the "high hill" was permitted last week, a vale has come in its turn, yet not to the breaking of my peace. We had a good meeting yesterday morning. I had to speak well of the way in which our fathers walked, and their fathers before them.

As I sat in meeting, I thought much of Addison's stanza:—

> My life, if thou preserv'st my life,
> Thy sacrifice shall be;
> And death, if death should be my lot,
> Shall join my soul to thee.

I have felt more than a slight degree of hope, that, through infinite mercy, this may represent my experience. Reduced as I am to more of a do-nothing state than almost ever before, I can enjoy my leisure, roam about our sweet "paradise of flowers," relish the delightful society of my most endeared wife and children, and repose on the bosom of that Saviour who condescends to be our perpetual keeper. Blessed be the name of our God and Father through him!

7th mo., 4th. A public meeting was held at my request at the Gildencroft last evening, which was well attended. It has been great cause of thankfulness to me, that, notwithstanding a depth of unworthiness and infirmity known only to the Omniscient, I have been again graciously called into service, and fitted for it of the Lord, both bodily and mentally. Truly our sufficiency is of the Lord alone!

Cromer, 7th mo., 9th. We reached this place very comfortably last third day evening, and find our lodgings clean, spacious, and quiet, close by the sea. The Frys and my sister Catherine had arrived an hour before us. My dearest wife and I have just been finishing a quiet reading of my Thoughts on Habit, which leaves

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a favourable impression on both our minds, and I have some hope that I may be able to finish it. I have also written a little almost daily in my other book.*

7th mo., 24*th*. We had an excellent meeting with the sailors, in our own parlour last fifth day; and another the next morning with the Sheringham fishermen, in the school-room of Robert Long, a lay teacher or preacher, who appears to have been truly called of the Lord to his service.

8th mo., 14*th*. We continued at Cromer until last second day, the 8th. The week spent there, after the last entry, was very pleasant on the whole. Two large public meetings; one at Runton, in Johnson's barn, on first day afternoon, 7th, mo., 31st, a good time I believe; and the second at Trimmingham, in Brown's barn, on first day afternoon, the 7th. The latter was remarkable, there was such a thirsty multitude! Much sweet and uniting intercourse with Anna Gurney.

Third day, the 2nd, was my birthday, fifty-four; a time of some serious thought and humiliation before the Lord. Something done in writing, and the object now before me in this department seems, on the whole, to be interesting, and to prosper.—"Thoughts on the Papal and Hierarchical System."

On second day, the 8th, after satisfactorily winding up at Cromer, my dear wife and I, with dear Anna, went to Holt, where a solemn and pretty large public meeting was held in the evening. Third day; large and flowing public meeting at Wells in the evening. Fourth day; good week-day meeting at Wells, and calls on several Friends; drove in the evening to Hunstanton, where we met a cordial welcome from dear E. Edwards and his daughter. Fifth day; a most pleasant and interesting day at Hunstanton. The associations of the place sweet and affecting to my feelings; the shore, sea, rocks, &c., delightful.† Sixth day; good time of prayer in E. E's house, which we left in the flowing of mutual love; a happy renewal and confirmation of our old friendship. In the afternoon to Downham, where a peculiarly

* See *supra*, p. 298. † See *supra*, vol i, pp. 117 and 209—210.

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solemn public meeting, though not very large, crowned the day. Lodged at Crimplesham, where the Doyles gave us a most hospitable reception; solemn reading there the next morning; visit to their school; and interesting hour with Philip, Elizabeth, and Sarah Sewell, "green in old age," at Wereham. They seem remarkably kept alive in the truth, without human instrumentality, and I hope we drank together of the waters of life. Returned to this dear, charming place in the evening; great peace seemed to rest on our coming home.

Similar engagements, in other parts of Norfolk and in Suffolk, called Joseph John Gurney several times from home during the autumn and winter. He also paid a short visit to his friends in Manchester and Liverpool. Besides attending to these calls of duty, he spent part of the autumn at Darlington, on the occasion of the funeral of his valued relative, Jonathan Backhouse, and in visits to several other places in the North of England. In allusion to the time passed in the neighbourhood of Ackworth he writes:—

Fourth day, 10*th mo.*, 26*th*. By railroad to Pontefract; attended the solemn and satisfactory funeral of my late dear friend, William Leatham, who closed his useful life in great peace, trusting in Christ. There was a blessed sense that the rich man had passed well through "the needle's eye;" but a strong word of warning was given to others, who were of a worldly mind. Afterwards to Ackworth, where we met a cordial reception, and spent a happy evening at the school. The children were collected in the new reading room, and I told them part of the story of the West Indies; an excellent time with the family after supper. Some Scripture examination, during this visit to Ackworth, afforded satisfactory evidence that the system of scriptural instruction, which I was enabled to institute about twenty-five years ago, continues to flourish, as is also the case at Sidcot, Croydon, &c. I trust I feel deeply thankful for this result.—"Establish thou

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the work of my hands upon me, O Lord; the work of my hands establish thou it."

Meanwhile the state of his health continued to awaken anxiety. Referring to it, he says under date

11*th mo.*, 4*th*. Dr. Prout's verdict of my bodily state is by no means favourable. A very strict regimen is ordered, to which, coming as it does from the highest authority, it is my full purpose to render due obedience. I have been a sad lover of sweet things all my life; but now sugar in every degree and form is to be avoided. I feel very quiet about the case, rather strongly hoping that we may be favoured to beat off the enemy, my general health being improved; but if it should be otherwise, I desire to be enabled to say, "It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good."

Through all, he endeavoured quietly to press onwards in the path of duty. At the suggestion of his sister Elizabeth Fry, he had been lately building a large and commodious library and reading room at Cromer, for the use of the fishermen and sailors, which was opened in the twelfth month of this year. It was about this time also, that, after much anxious deliberation, he became convinced that it was his duty to give up the use of all intoxicating beverages, and to encourage his household in a similar line of conduct. Henceforth he gave to the cause of Total Abstinence all the weight that could be derived from his own powerful example, and truly Christian advocacy. In an address upon the subject, which was subsequently published under the title Water is Best, he thus notices the circumstances which led to this important change of opinion and practice:—

I acknowledge that I was accustomed till within the last eighteen months, to take a little wine and beer with my meals;

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and while I was most anxious, as a Christian and a minister, to let my "moderation be known unto all men," I thought that the use of these beverages was necessary to the enjoyment of health. I was led, however, under the circumstances which I will relate, to abandon this practice, and I have reason to rejoice that I did so, for my health has very considerably improved in consequence.

Having many inmates in my house, and feeling a great desire to promote their spiritual welfare, I adopted those means which I hoped, under the Divine blessing, would lead them to consideration and to seriousness. I found, however, that all my efforts were frustrated by *an enemy in my own house*. We were famous for the excellence of our home-brewed beer; and this was hospitably supplied not only to the servants of the establishment, but also to the labourers employed on the estate. Although I cannot say that it was extravagantly used, I believe it was the source of very considerable mischief. It had a tendency to blunt the moral feelings, and to incapacitate the mind to receive the great truths which I was so anxious to impart. I was, at this time, in an infirm state of health, and found it difficult to set an example of total abstinence. But, believing with the apostle Paul, that I should avoid placing a 'stumbling block in the way of my brother,' (and, in this sense, I claim all mankind, whether masters or servants, as my brethren,) I felt it to be my duty to abstain from that which was not unlawful in itself, rather than be the occasion of stumbling to others. I called together the members of my establishment, and told them that I felt it to be my duty to discontinue the supply of beer to which they had been accustomed; but ordered a coffee tap to be opened in the hall, and a plentiful supply of hot coffee and bread to be kept for all who chose to partake. This, like other similar changes, was attended with pain; but in the course of a short time matters settled down as quietly and agreeably as ever, and I have great cause to be thankful to the Almighty, that I was led to take this decided step. Now I can leave home for two or three months without care and anxiety, knowing that one great source of evil

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is stopped. At this time, as I have already said, my health was feeble, but now I am thankful to say that it is re-established to a degree which, two or three years ago, I should have thought impossible without the use of stimulating beverages; so deep was the sense I entertained of their necessity. I was ordered by some of the greatest medical men in the country, to take wine medicinally, but I could not do it with an easy conscience; and now, in spite of all the dogmas that float on the tide of popular prejudice, I have found, and multitudes have found by experience, that alcoholic beverages are useless to persons in health.

The work which had of late occupied his attention was now published, at first anonymously, under the title of The Papal and Hierarchical System compared with the Religion of the New Testament.* In this excellent treatise he boldly, but faithfully sketches the principal corruptions by which man has defiled the purity, and (so far as he has been allowed the sway) weakened or destroyed the influence of primitive Christianity; powerfully contrasting these corruptions with the noble simplicity of inspired truth. The whole volume deserves the attentive perusal of the reader, as containing, in a condensed form, a clear, and, (upon New Testament grounds,) unanswerable argument for Spiritual Christianity. One passage from the Chapter on the Spiritual Power of the Priesthood deserves to be quoted:—

Where there is no sacrifice there is no priest; for sacrifice is the essential characteristic of the sacerdotal office. The continuance of that office under the papal and hierarchical system, is nothing better than a recurrence to the old plan of Jewish worship, and is opposed to the simplicity of the truth and the spirituality

* This work was subsequently reprinted with the author's name, under the title of Puseyism Traced to its Root, in a view of the Papal and Hierarchical System, as compared with the Religion of the New Testament. A large edition was published in a cheap form, which was widely circulated. An edition was also printed uniform with the octavo edition of Joseph John Gurney's works.

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of the gospel dispensation. A Priest (*ἱερεὺς, sacerdos*) is not only a minister but a mediator; he stands between the people and their God; he offers up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and afterwards for those of the people. But in this glorious gospel day, as we know only "one God," so we know only "one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all." (1 Tim. ii, 5.) In the distribution of spiritual gifts and offices, we read that the risen and glorified Saviour "gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ;" we read also of presbyters or elders, of bishops or overseers, of deacons or servants; but among all these we hear nothing whatsoever of the Priest, the *ἱερεὺς* or *sacerdos*. We must therefore conclude that Jesus is the ONLY Priest of the Christian Church. In him the shadows of the law, and especially the whole sacrificial system, are for ever fulfilled. He has died, once for all, for the sins of the whole world; he is ever present with his people to bless them in the name of his Father; he is their never-failing advocate and intercessor before the throne of God; he carries the names of all the tribes of the true Israel, as on his breastplate, before the Lord; like Aaron, he bears the iniquity even of their "holy things." "The Lord hath sworn and will not repent," saith the Father to the Son, "Thou art a Priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec." Uniting in himself the regal and sacerdotal offices, he both mediates and reigns, and supplies, in both respects, the whole need of his universal church. Ecclesiastical systems, invented by men, shall last their season and then vanish. The finest fabrics of human policy in the things of religion, shall perish before the breath of the Lord Almighty; but Jesus Christ, our only High Priest, is "the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever," and of the increase of his government and peace there shall be NO END.

The conclusion of the work is at once forcible and characteristic:—

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Between the two systems which have now been developed, between the fulness of the authority of man, and the fulness of the authority of God, in matters of religion, there is, as I believe, no permanent resting-place. Mediums have been tried, in a variety of forms and on an extensive scale. But the sentiment which has now been expressed appears to be confirmed by the fact, that a large proportion of the clergy of Episcopal Churches is at this very time notoriously rushing back into the bosom of Popery; retrograde movements of the same nature (though different in degree) may be traced in the decrease of original simplicity, and the increase of form and splendour, in the worship of some of the non-conforming bodies. In the meantime, there can be no doubt that spiritual religion, in its native vigour, is more and more diffusing itself among the thousands and tens of thousands of the Israel of God. With these, under whatsoever name, and in whatsoever nation they may be found, the writer of the pages now about to be concluded, desires to be preserved in living, heart-felt unity. May the favour of God be upon his children and followers all the world over! May the Sun of righteousness arise upon them from day to day, and the dews of heaven rest all night upon their branches! And finally, may the law of peace and purity, and love, without any foul admixtures, overspread this earth, "as the waters cover the sea."

In the spring and summer of this year he was again engaged, in company with his wife and their friend Josiah Forster, in a lengthened visit to France and some other parts of the Continent of Europe. His sister Elizabeth Fry accompanied by one of her daughters, was also associated with them during the earlier portions of the journey. In the prospect of this engagement he writes in his Journal:—

3rd mo., 11*th*. Deep searching of heart has been much my lot, in the earnest desire that the prospect might close, if not truly of the Lord. I have, however, felt quiet at the root, and an abiding feeling of the rectitude of the movement somewhat increases from

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day to day. Happily I have no other pressure upon me; and in quietness and confidence find a renewal of strength.

4th mo., *15th.* [At] the Morning Meeting of ministers and elders held in London last second day, we were finally set at liberty for our mission. It was largely attended by Friends of London Quarterly Meeting, and several from the country, including Samuel Tuke and Joseph and Junia Price, &c. A more solemn occasion, or a more weighty and deliberate consideration of a religious concern, I have seldom witnessed. A deep stream of religious feeling was permitted to flow amongst us; and, through the tender loving-kindness of him whom we desire to serve, it all flowed in the same direction. It appeared to be the unanimous judgment of the meeting, after a general expression of unity, that we should be set free for the work into which the Lord had condescended to call us. A certificate to this effect was well drawn up on the spot by our dear friend, Josiah Forster, who, for the present, is the companion of our travels.

They left London on the 10th of the fourth month. After describing their progress as far as Abbeville, Joseph John Gurney continues:—

Amiens, 4th mo., 16th.

The journey yesterday [from Abbeville] very pleasant and entertaining, through a country divided into varied strips of green and brown, but without hedges, well cultivated, plenty of wheat on the soil. We distributed tracts, and conversed with the amiable, easily-entertained people at Ailly le Haut Clocher and Picquigny. At the latter place are the remains of an old castle, where Louis the Eleventh and Edward the Fourth, of England, once met in conference. We wandered about the ruins, which are not very picturesque; but the view from this elevated spot of the rich valley of the Somme, is fine. In this valley we observed a large, apparently new, convent of the *Trappistes*. Thus Popery in all its forms, both splendid and frightful, is rising again to view with fresh vigour; and nothing surely but the

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power of God can ever put down a system, in the maintenance of which human policy the most refined, and human zeal the most untiring, are for ever at work. Of this *renaissance* of Popery we had full proof after arriving at this large and beautiful city, as we surveyed the magnificent cathedral, a building of astonishing beauty. The architecture is of the finest gothic; and in the interior, simple enough to be extremely attractive. The outside is too much crowded with ornament, yet very striking. As to the proof of Popery *redivivâ*, it is to be found in the newly-fitted-up chapels, gay with artificial roses, candles all round, with devotees on their knees before the images, especially those of the virgin; also in the superb, newly-gilt pulpit; above all, in the relic of John the Baptist's head, of which the red silk or velvet cap under a glass is alone exposed to view. We saw two sweet-looking boys kiss it reverentially, and drop on their knees beside it for a short prayer; after which they turned to us, and innocently assured us that the body of the Baptist was lying under a white-clad altar, which stood hard by, blazing with candles! We observed that the street leading to the cathedral is called *la rue des corps nus sans tête*, which may have reference to the same part of the Gospel history; or perhaps to martyrs' legends of less authority. Two of the stone figures in the portico are represented carrying their own heads! Confession was going on in one of the chapels; two confessionals being occupied; one by a man, another by a female. Oh! the awful mummery of this dark system.

Clermont, 4th mo., 17th

While we were examining the cathedral, our indefatigable friend, Josiah Forster, was engaged in preparing our way for the ensuing sabbath; by calling on Cadoret, the minister of the small Protestant church, who willingly agreed to summon his flock to the saloon, where his people usually meet, for six o'clock the next evening. His agreeable daughter undertook to go round and give the notice. In the evening, the pious old man spent an hour or two with us. He was once in the navy, and a Papist. But when at Havana, in the course of his voyages, he attended one of the churches

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there, on the day of a great *fête* in honour of the Virgin, when he was suddenly struck by the extreme gaudiness and folly of the ceremony, and he cried out, "O for four walls to worship in without all this frippery!" Some time afterwards he was taken prisoner by the English, and stationed at Ashburton; where, being on his parole, he accidentally went into a dissenting meeting-house, and found his prayer fulfilled: four walls to worship in without ceremony, without finery. He was struck to the heart, though he could not understand the minister; learnt the English language; attended the meeting for a few months; and became a Protestant and a Christian.

Yesterday was certainly an interesting, and, I hope, not unproductive sabbath; spent in that large city of 50,000 souls, given up, with little exception, either to superstition or practical infidelity; the former among the women, and the latter among the men; a grievously common case in France! Our little meeting (the four servants present) was held at eleven o'clock, and proved a season of true refreshment. The day was beautiful, and after the meeting, my wife and I took a long walk about the *allées* and boulevards; and another long-shaded walk, called the Hotore. This part of the town, with the rows of good houses and pleasant promenades, is decidedly handsome. So, indeed, are the streets generally. It is a place of busy manufacture and commerce, though just now in a state of depression.

In the evening, at the appointed hour, we repaired to the humble dwelling of our friend the *pasteur*, who conducted us to the Meeting. It was a congregation of about eighty people; perhaps at last some ten or twenty more; and a very solemn, favoured meeting it proved. Josiah Forster began by briefly explaining our mode of worship. Soon afterwards I rose, and was enabled to preach for about half an hour in French, with far greater facility than I could have ventured to expect. It was truly given to me of the Lord, and very thankful ought I to be for such a renewed token of his unmerited lovingkindness. My subject was, the internal hearing for ourselves of the life-giving voice of Jesus, beginning with the words of the Samaritans, "Now

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we believe, not because of thy saying, but we have heard him ourselves," &c.; the spiritual resurrection as a preparation for the last day; (John v;) the new birth and living faith in the blood of Christ. Our beloved sister followed in a lively, fervent exhortation, well interpreted by our friend Josiah Forster. Afterwards I was enabled to conclude the Meeting in prayer, and we returned to our hotel with relieved and thankful minds. Such was our first French Public Meeting. May we be helped by this token for good, and may we give all the praise where alone it is due! About twenty of the people at the meeting were Roman Catholics.

This morning Cadoret and his daughter, and Vorneaux, a colporteur of the Bible Society, who, since the eleventh month, has sold 600 copies of the New Testament in the neighbourhood, breakfasted with us, and our reading was solemn and refreshing; my sister beautifully engaged in prayer. After breakfast, she being but poorly, Josiah Forster, my wife, and I, visited the Bicetre, being the House of Correction for the department of the Somme, containing about 260 prisoners. We had but little satisfaction in our visit.

Chantilly, 4th mo., 19th.

We spent a pleasant day, yesterday, in a very pleasant country. Clermont is beautifully situated on the brow of a hill; and the views of it which we enjoyed in a quiet stroll along a lovely lane, through orchards of apple-trees, well cultivated in strips, and near a fine wood, where we heard a chorus of thrushes, and a nightingale or two, were lovely indeed; the air being dry, clear, and stimulant. We then ascended the hill, on which the town is built, to the *Prison Centrale pour les Femmes*, a vast, good-looking building which stands on the summit. It is for the whole of the north of France, and contains 900 prisoners. These prisoners are cared for by the *Sœurs de la Sagesse*, under a superior, forty in number, who are allowed 800 francs per annum each, but support themselves. There is a school in the prison for the ignorant; and religious instruction, after the manner of the Roman Catholics, seems to be communicated by a chaplain, and the nuns. The

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latter lodge in the prison, and serve the whole purpose of officers; no others being admitted except a few inferior servants. Perpetual silence reigns among the women; or at least this is the law. A more effective superintendence is required at night. My sister was greatly pleased with the order, cleanliness, and comfort of this prison. The females are employed in lace-making and other kinds of needle-work, &c. One-third of the earnings go towards the expenses of the establishment; one-third for indulgences in the way of food, &c.; and one-third is reserved for them when they leave the prison; but this portion is sent for their use to the mayor of the place to which they belong, their travelling expenses being first paid out of it. An Englishwoman, who had been confined here, went out with a purse of about 200 francs.

There is an institution called the *Bon Pasteur*, at Amiens, which affords a refuge for these females when they leave the prison. Many go thither of their own free will, and support themselves, when there, by their work, being again under the superintendence of a sisterhood of nuns. These *Bons Pasteurs* are established, we are told, in many other places besides Amiens. The system of the Romanists puts many instruments into their hands—large sisterhoods of nuns, for example—which may be often used for good purposes. The *Sœurs de Charité*, who attend the prisons and the hospitals, paid though they be for their work, and incited by the false notion of merit in their own performances, must nevertheless be reckoned among the alleviators, both physically and morally, of the miseries and evils which oppress mankind. Thus God conducts his great designs, through a machinery of Providence, of which the intricacies are not to be unravelled by human wisdom; and often is he pleased to overrule erroneous systems for good and desirable purposes. We are not, on this account, to give up our principles, which rest on his own unchanging law and attributes. Yet we may well exclaim with Paul—"O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!"

The drive to Chantilly in the afternoon, fifteen miles, was swift;

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and agreeable, through a beautiful champaign country and over the Oise, a fine river at Creil.

Paris, 4th mo., 19th.

After driving through a succession of little towns, many vineyards, and a gay, fruitful country, we arrived here in safety about two o'clock. We feel the weight of our position and prospects; and fervent are our desires that we may be guided, from day to day, in the way of our duties, and be graciously qualified for the fulfilment of them.

4th mo., 21*st*. Yesterday we all went, at eleven o'clock, to our little week-day meeting, in the Faubourg du Roule; and were favoured with a solemn, refreshing time, in which our hopes and strengths were renewed, in the remembrance of that gracious promise, "I will lead the blind by a way that they know not," &c.

At three o'clock, my dear wife and I walked to the Pelets, where I had the pleasure of introducing her to our kind friend, the countess, who was recumbent on her couch, being very infirm. I remember when I was last in Paris, being engaged in solemn prayer with her, on behalf of her husband's father, who was then very ill. He died last year in the triumphant faith of the Christian. He said in dying, that he could not express the beauty and glory of the scene which lay before him, and on which he was about to enter.

From thence to a bazaar, for the benefit of certain schools, where we were much pleased with a number of simple, yet sprightly young women, who were engaged in selling. I talked with Mark Wilks' wife, respecting the present extraordinary inroad on Protestant religious liberty. It appears, that in a certain village, the inhabitants, of their own accord, forsook Popery, and built a place of worship for themselves, applying to the *Société Evangélique*, of Paris, for a minister. They could not obtain one; but a Protestant minister, Roussel, went of his own accord and ministered to them; was warned off by the police, persevered, and was at last forced away by the military. A *procès verbal* was commenced against him, and a fine inflicted by the inferior district court. He appealed to the superior court

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next in order, when his cause was pleaded by Odillon Barrot, but in vain. He has now appealed to the Court of Cassation, which is supreme; and Josiah Forster and I hope to attend the trial to-morrow. The ground of this infliction is a law introduced by Guizot, since the formation of the present ministry, forbidding more than twenty persons to assemble without leave of the *maire* of the district; a law occasioned by some of the plots against the government which had previously transpired. It was, at the time, expressly stated by the government, through Guizot, that the law was intended to have no bearing whatsoever on religious meetings; the charter confirmed by the last revolution, having granted full and entire religious liberty to persons of all creeds. Nevertheless, it was now construed to apply to any attempt to form a new society of Protestants, or open any place of Protestant worship where one had not previously existed; in fact, as a complete prevention of the further development of the Protestant principle. It is evidently a step towards the old plan of uniformity, restriction, and persecution; and is considered by the Protestant party to be highly alarming. The fact seems to be, that the executive power, backed by immense military force, is virtually entering into such a league with the priesthood, as will secure their support of the present dynasty. Thus a new force and spring are given to Popery in its *renaissance;* and the thunder clouds which are gradually overspreading the heavens, grow darker and thicker. May the Sun of righteousness arise and disperse them!

4th mo., 24th. On seventh day, Josiah Forster and I had pleasant interviews, soon after breakfast, with the wife of the Chevalier Eynard, who received us with much cordiality; with the Greek ambassador whom we met when last at Paris; and with Guizot, preparatory to the intercourse mutually wished for between us. He received us affectionately, and we are engaged to dine with him on fifth day. We then called on Isambert, our zealous and steady anti-slavery friend and advocate. He is one of the judges of the Court of Cassation, the supreme court of France, and was kind enough to introduce us, that we might hear the cause of Christian liberty pleaded, in the case already men-

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tioned. The court is held in the old chamber of justice, as I understood, of the kings of France, a fine old apartment, with a picture of the present king in front; fourteen of the judges assembled; and a large body of Protestants were there to hear; looking, as well they might, low and serious, under the present grievous infraction of the liberty of conscience, proclaimed to them in the fifth article of the Charter of 1830. After the report had been read of the preceding trials in the case, Count Delaborde rose, the advocate of religious freedom, and pleaded the cause, in a speech of nearly two hours, with great clearness, zeal, heart, and force; though the rapidity of his pronunciation sometimes concealed his meaning from me. To his argument he added a good deal of general impressive remark on the subject of the rights of conscience. He quoted an admirable declaration made by Napoleon on the subject; but concluded with a still more forcible reference to Scripture, and to the paramount authority of him, who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. The judges seemed to me to listen to him with great indifference; touching and interesting as was the appeal. After a dry and feeble answer from some one who represented the *Procureur du Roi*, (the Attorney-General,) the judges retired, and we afterwards learned, that, by a majority of ten against four, they confirmed the decision of the inferior court of Versailles, and thus gave to the dying hopes of the Protestants, a cold-blooded *coup de grace*. I conversed a little with the eloquent Count Delaborde, who had himself been a Roman Catholic, and has become a pious Protestant; also with Roussel, the minister, who had opened the chapel of Senneville, and had been fined in consequence. He says the chapel continues closed and useless, a mere monument of the increasing power of Popery, and that the poor pious people are cared for by an *instituteur*, or schoolmaster. I was also introduced to Odillon Barrot, who had pleaded the cause before the court of the district of Versailles. He is an interesting, warm-hearted man, with a powerful eye, and a forehead finely developed.

Yesterday was our first Parisian Sabbath. Our meeting at the Faubourg du Roule was held at twelve o'clock, and was attended

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by a considerable number of people, generally English. At six o'clock, we repaired to William Toase's Wesleyan meeting-house, by appointment. After a time it was quite crowded, more so, they said, than ever before; and certainly it was a truly solemn meeting. My dear sister was first engaged, at some length, in exhorting to vital and practical religion, and was well interpreted for by our friend Lucas, a minister among the French Methodists. I afterwards followed on part of John xiv:—"*Je suis le chemin, la vérité, et la vie,*" &c. I trust help was given. The congregation separated in the feeling of much love and sweetness.

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CHAPTER XL.

1843. ÆT. 55.

ENGAGEMENTS AT PARIS CONTINUED; DUC DE BROGLIE; GUIZOT; DE TOQUEVILLE; PROTESTANT MEETING; FRENCH BIBLE SOCIETY; VISIT TO THE KING AND QUEEN AT NEUILLY; JOURNEY TO THE SOUTH OF FRANCE; MACON; LYONS; AVIGNON; NISMES; CONGENIES; VISIT TO THE FRIENDS; ILLNESS AT CONGENIES.

Paris, 4th mo., 25th, 1843.

I WISH most sincerely that we may all be preserved from the feeling of dissipation, in the midst of the interesting and ever-shifting scenes which befall us in this place. It requires watchfulness and care, and I do not feel that we are without our difficulties; yet I humbly trust, indeed I fully believe, that the Lord is near to help.

Yesterday morning, (24th,) Josiah Forster and I made a few calls together. Our first was on Baron Rothschild, to establish my pecuniary credit. He was abundantly civil. He seemed to me to have the same kind of acuteness and intelligence as his late brother Nathan, and to be pursuing the same career. I ought to be thankful for the convenience of moneyed facility in this temporal world; one feels it particularly when abroad. May all that I have and am be rightly devoted to the Author of all my blessings!

We then paid our respects to Lord Cowley, the British Ambassador, younger brother of the Duke of Wellington, a sensible, elderly gentleman, who, though very busy, received us kindly. We talked to him about the case of Tahiti and the Sandwich Islands. He said he had received official assurances

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from the French Government, that the Protestant missionaries in Tahiti shall be fully protected, and the Independent Sovereignty of the Sandwich Islands acknowledged. At a later hour we called on the Duc de Broglie, of whom I had so often heard, and whom I was really glad to see. He received us in a very friendly manner. His late Duchess, the daughter of La Baronne de Staël, was a woman of decided piety, a Protestant, and died the death of the Christian. She was well known to our sister Fry. The Duke is a liberal Roman Catholic, and is the author of the *projet de loi*, on the subject of emancipation, which has just been published. It is said to contain a vast mass of well-arranged evidence; and, though far from fully satisfactory in its provisions, is probably as good as the Duke could make it. Neither he nor Guizot can be regarded as their own masters in this important matter.

In the evening our rooms were opened to the coloured people, besides several of our own friends. It was a highly interesting occasion. There were, perhaps, forty of them, chiefly young men —lively, intelligent, polite; affording abundant proofs that "black blood" has no tendency to destroy the powers of the mind. I told them a little about the West Indies, in a French address; then Josiah Forster and I questioned them respecting the condition of the respective islands, &c., with which they were connected. We had representatives from Bourbon, Cayenne, Guadaloupe, Martinique, and Hayti; and they gave us, in a truly vivacious way, much information. Slavery everywhere seems to wear the same characteristics of ignorance and brutality. The slaves appear to get no education in any of the French colonies, and are liable to much cruel treatment. In Hayti, too, education is at a low ebb. It appears that the late revolution there has been bloodless, and that President Boyer has made his escape to Jamaica. We ended with a psalm and a solemn pause. I trust the impression made upon our guests was useful, and that the evening's service would not be in vain. Yet, had we been a little more watchful and faithful, the end might more completely have crowned all.

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4th mo., 27th. Yesterday morning, having obtained the authorization of the Prefect of Police, Gabriel Dellessère, a man of talent and energy, and very kind to us, Josiah Forster, and I visited the new prison, *des jeunes détenus*, now complete; about 500 boys in the establishment, the number made up of all the little vagabonds and thieves, which France, and principally Paris, happens to furnish, who are shut up here by a kind of summary process, according to the will of the magistrates; not so much because deserving their terms of imprisonment, (some of which are for three, four, five, or six years,) as under the consideration, that they will be themselves benefitted by the system of care and discipline. Many are sent to the establishment by their own parents. The whole is arranged on the *système cellulaire*. It is solitary confinement, as it regards their fellows in bondage, but alleviated by the frequent visits of their teachers and keepers, &c., also by a very fairly comfortable diet, meat four times a week, and plenty of bread; constant employment, school learning, and some handicraft business, filling up the day in succession. There are a large number of corridors, all well warmed; each corridor under the care of a superintending officer, who acts both as schoolmaster and *maitre de metier* to the boys inhabiting it. The boys are taught in matters of religion, by two monks, twenty-three at a time, in a room divided into little departments, so as not to see each other, with a desk in the centre. They kneel before the Host (without seeing it) at the sound of a bell, every Sabbath day. Each boy is allowed half an hour's run during the day, in one of the four airy court-yards. Each cell is provided with a comfortable bed, and suitable provision for reading, writing, and cyphering, besides the implements of the work on which the inmate is engaged. I observed no want of neatness, air, or comfort in the cells. The books for religious instruction consisted chiefly of extracts from the New Testament, which the boys get by heart, and Romish Catechisms. We visited many of the boys in their cells, some of them very young, ranging from twelve to eighteen years. It may appear somewhat strange, but it is no more than the truth, that as far as we could judge, they

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seemed, without exception, healthy and happy. I must say it is an excellent specimen of the separate system, however tyrannical so long an imprisonment may be.

In the evening we dined with our kind friends the Pelets, meeting the old Countess, Charles Mallet and his mother, General Meynadier, and Admiral Baudin, *Directeur des Bagnes* (galleys,) at Toulon—a man of high station, who was converted from Popery and has become quite serious.

After dinner, several persons joined the company; the most interesting of whom were De Toqueville, the American traveller, a small, intelligent, benevolent, lively Frenchman, and his friend Beaumont,, a fine-looking, energetic young man, much disposed to be useful to his fellow-men. They are both deputies, of high reputation, much interested in the cause of prison reform and anti-slavery. Beaumont informed me that the Parliamentary Commission had made much use of my Winter in the West Indies. The evening was an interesting one, and I hope was productive of some good. It seems to have left a good impression on our friends. Yet it would have been satisfactory, could we have arrived at somewhat more of quietness and solemnity. These blessings we have enjoyed, through mercy, rather richly, at our meeting this morning; some twenty or thirty persons present; many greatly affected. We were all three engaged in ministry.

4th mo., 30th. On fifth day (the 27th) we went to dine with Guizot, who received us with great politeness and kindness. His mother and children were of the party, also Rosine Chabaud, *Directeur de la Bibliothèque Royale*, and our kind friend the Duc de Broglie.

We stayed rather more than two hours, during which we had a good deal of free conversation with him. Our main topics were —first, the Abolition of Slavery; second, the Preservation of Peace; and third, Religious Liberty. We did not learn from him that it was the intention of Government to act fully on the *projet de loi* proposed by the Commission; but he assured us that the subject of abolition would be duly brought forward at the commencement of the next session, and that the children under

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seven years of age would be set free. It seemed as if he could not encourage much hope beyond this, except in the way of amelioration. We thought he spoke with sincerity on the subject, and that he truly feels with us; but there can be little doubt he has difficulties both in the cabinet and from the throne. On the subject of peace he spoke decidedly; saying, that there was far less danger of any interruption of it, than was the case when we were here two years ago. He also spoke decidedly on the point of religious liberty, declaring his own opinion, in opposition to the general sentiment of the Protestants, that it is making progress, and will advance more and more. He seemed fully to agree in our view of the advantages derived to a nation, from freedom of thought and action on the subject, and from dissent. This stirring of the waters is the means of driving people to a deeper consideration and feeling of those main principles of religion, on which the welfare of the community essentially depends. Josiah Forster spoke in the plainest manner on the Tahiti case and its radical injustice; which Guizot did not attempt to deny, but adverted to parallel instances in the conduct of Great Britain. He said, however, that the facts had been exaggerated; that the forcible interference of the French had been without the authority of the Government; and that the Protestant missionaries will be left at their full liberty; that we need not alarm ourselves on the subject. For my own part, I fully believe it is a bad case. The very fact of Tahiti's becoming a station for French troops, together with the probability that this military force will play into the hands of the Roman Catholic priesthood there established, seem to leave but little hope for the Protestant mission, or for the true moral and religious welfare of the aborigines.

I had much agreeable conversation with Guizot's mother, who is evidently a mature and lively Christian. There was a bright glow diffused over the occasion, and we parted under the feelings of friendship.

Sixth day was one of great interest, and I think I may add, of some importance. A company of our friends, interested in

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prisons, assembled at nine o'clock in the morning to breakfast, some of them very interesting persons. They were Moreau, Christophe and Bluet, inspectors; De Toqueville, Beaumont, and Remusat, deputies, and active and interested members of the prison committee of the house; Remusat, late Minister of the Interior, also an active agent of the government in these matters. These gentlemen were joined by Le Chevalier, *Directrice Générale des Prisons de France pour les femmes*, who came with our friend E. Mallet. They were all present at our usual reading of the Scriptures. After breakfast we had a good open discussion on prisons, and on the new *projet de loi*, which proposes to enact the cellular or separate system for all the prisons in France. The idea is to isolate the criminals from each other, but not from those who can help and do them good; solitude with a variety of helps and alleviations, of which the youths in the prison of La Roquette already afford a specimen. I have digested our own views on the subject, specifying the various alleviations and accompaniments of the system which we deem necessary, in a paper addressed to our friend De Toqueville. With him, Beaumont, and Remusat, I was greatly pleased; they may truly be said to be fine men, intellectual, liberal, ardent, highly talented. O that pure religion might master them all! Moreau Christophe is also an interesting man. As far as we know they are all Roman Catholics. In the evening we had a large and highly interesting company at our hotel, including the Greek Ambassador, Colletti, and about thirty young Greeks, students, and others. It was a truly animating occasion. After the party was seated I made a short speech in French, with a view of stimulating them in the pursuit of literature, virtue, and religion. My sister then addressed them by the help of the Duc de Broglie's kind interpretation; also Josiah Forster; and some of the Greeks themselves spoke in answer to our inquiries on the state of education, books, &c.; highly pleased and animated they seemed to be; many of them were from Greece proper; others from the Turkish dominions. We concluded by reading Acts xvii, the visit of Paul to Athens, &c.; after which, I had a little to express in

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ministry. Numerous little books were then distributed, and our intelligent, ardent, and apparently high minded guests, expressed their hearty pleasure and gratitude on leaving us. I trust this labour of love was not in vain.

4th mo., 30th. I may record with humble gratitude the privileges of the Sabbath day which is just past. It was certainly a day of much favour. [After our meeting in the morning at the Faubourg du Roule,] we repaired at four o'clock, P.M., to the excellent *locale*, Rue du Phot, No. X, for the temporary use of which, as a place of worship, we have obtained a regular authorization from the Prefect of Police. About 100 persons assembled, among them about fifteen young Greeks. It was, through mercy, a solemn, favoured meeting. I knelt down soon after its commencement, and poured forth a prayer in French; after which my sister addressed the company in a very lively and powerful manner; first the serious, and next the worldly. She was well interpreted for by our friend Lucas. I was afterwards enabled to preach with some degree, I trust, of life and clearness, on the divinity of Christ, and the evidences of it in Scripture; and on the grand doctrines of the atonement, and the work of the Spirit. The word preached seemed to be well understood, and gladly received. A few observations on the daily reading of Scripture concluded the meeting, which was accompanied by a blessed feeling of solemnity and comfort. Books and tracts were distributed in the ante-room.

In the evening we had a large company of the English visitors now in the hotel, with whom we were favoured with a solemn reading in the Epistle to the Philippians, and my sister was engaged in prayer. The Countess Pelet dined with us alone, and her husband afterwards joined the circle. We are much bound to them, and they to us, in Christian love.

Third day, 5th mo., 2nd. At noon, Josiah Forster and I repaired to the Rue du Phot, where we attended a crowded meeting of the society, "*pour les intérêts généraux du Protestantisme*," Admiral Verhueil in the chair. The report was read by the young Count Gasparin, and the meeting was afterwards addressed by Frossard,

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Monod, Vermeil, and other pastors. The society embraces a variety of objects; a house of study and protection for young Protestant students, at the Paris colleges; the formation of a place of confinement for young Protestant criminals, and the condition of the question of religious liberty. I was happily able to understand the chief part of what was spoken, and was greatly interested; especially by F. Monod's speech, in which the subject of religious liberty, and the right conduct of Christians under persecution, was admirably handled. Josiah Forster concluded the meeting with a few timely sentences, which were cordially received.

In the evening we had a large company of Greeks. Our object was to form an association for the translation, printing, and diffusion of useful little books, moral, religious, and literary, for the use of Greece. I hope the seed of such a society was sown, but the speaking was rather rapid and confusing; a sweet solemnity was afterwards felt in the reading of Psalm xc.

Fourth day, 5th mo., 3rd. Attended the meeting of the Protestant Bible Society, at the Oratoire. It was a large meeting, but by no means equalling that of the day before in interest. Both Josiah Forster and I spoke. I told them of our experience in Norfolk, (their distribution was only 5000 for the year in all France,) and recommended the plan of Bible associations.

5th mo., 5th. The meeting of the French and Foreign Bible Society. It was well attended; Colonel Tronchin in the chair. Count Delaborde read the report. I spoke third, after a good, enlightening speech from Pressensé, and dwelt on the two great points in the Bible Society, *Simplicité de but*—the whole Bible and the Bible only; and *Catholicité* in principle—so that all the friends of genuine Christianity can cordially unite in it. I also spoke of the most successful means—Bible Associations. On this subject I was followed by Chevalier Eynard, who proposed a definite plan, which was cordially adopted by the meeting, of small weekly subscriptions. In the evening we met a large company, of Protestants chiefly, at the house of my sister's friend André, the wife of a wealthy banker; one of the leading Protestant families, of old standing. It was an interesting scene, and gave a good

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idea of the texture of the most respectable French Society. An opportunity was kindly given us of a short religious communication before the party separated. I expressed a few sentences in French against conformity to the world, and by way of encouragement in the Christian course to all present, and on the preservation of unity. My sister followed sweetly, through the interpretation of our friend Frossard, and the people seemed full of love towards us on our departure.

5th mo., 8th. * * * The *pasteurs* from town and country, assembled for the late meetings, came to a *déjeûner à la fourchette*, thirty-two or thirty-three in number. We had a very solemn reading before breakfast, in Ephesians iv and vi, after which my sister spoke well; and, under a sweetly constraining influence, I was led to pour forth my prayers for them. The *déjeûner* was orderly and agreeable. At the suggestion of our dear sister, loved and honoured as she is amongst them all, the *pasteurs* from various parts gave us an account, in turn, of four points; first, the state of religion in their own flocks; second, the state of the Roman Catholics in the neighbourhood; third, the condition of the schools; fourth, the state of the population both Protestant and Roman Catholic, as it regards the distribution of the Scriptures. The reports were, in general, though with some decided exceptions, very favourable as to the revival and spread of vital religion among the Protestants. Some spirituality in the midst of forms was acknowledged as having been observed among the Romanists, but the general account, as it relates to them, confirmed the idea of the increasing influence and activity of the more objectionable parts of the system. As to schools, it was evident that the Roman Catholics have the better of the Protestants, making a great point of having able masters, and other advantages which superior wealth and power command. Yet education in many places is carefully attended to by the Protestants, and a pious minister from Orleans described a remarkable visitation of the Spirit with which his schools had lately been favoured. A general testimony was given, that the Protestant population is well supplied with the Scriptures, and a

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door for the reception of them among the Roman Catholics is remarkably kept open by the colporteurs. *Pasteur* Vermeil, of Paris, a very superior man, complained much of the practice prevailing amongst decided Protestants, of attending the best Roman Catholic preaching, which is so managed as to attract them; the gospel being, as it were, thrown out to them from Romish pulpits as a bait. In the meantime the most absurd notions are in some places circulated respecting the faith of the Protestants. An excellent "elder," an advocate from Normandy, I believe, spoke of the desirableness of spreading pamphlets declarative of their orthodox faith in those truths which the Roman Catholics themselves acknowledge, but without controversy. A pastor present expressed his anxiety at the fact, that many English, travelling or residing in France, fall under Roman Catholic influence, and become converts to Popery. My sister made some excellent remarks on the necessity of unity amongst themselves, and charity towards all, making honourable mention of the Methodists. This exhortation to love and unity was well confirmed by Josiah Forster; who supplied the company abundantly with books, particularly my works on the West Indies, Love to God, and on the Principles of Friends. I made some observations on the danger and disgrace of neology, and the necessity of a firm holding of the fundamental doctrine of our Lord's divinity. All seemed pleased, satisfied, and grateful. Indeed, it was an eminently favoured occasion, one, I believe, which will long be held in remembrance.

In the evening Guizot dined with us alone. We had much pleasant and useful conversation with him at dinner and afterwards. The introduction of the New Testament into prisons was one topic well discussed, in which he promised well, and was thoroughly one with us in the sentiment, that every cell in the prisons should be furnished with an entire copy, and not merely with extracts. We had much conversation on religious liberty, &c. He spoke on all points with great candour and kindness, and, as far as I could judge, in the character of a Christian

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statesman. It is impossible not to feel a warm and hearty regard for him.

In the evening of sixth day, the 12th, our anti-slavery friends assembled at the hotel. We had previously spent a morning half hour, very agreeably, with the Duc de Broglie, who came in the evening, and took the chair. It was a highly interesting occasion, present, (besides the Duc de B——,) de Tracy, Lafayette, (son of the General,) Carnot, Thayer, de Toqueville, Isambert, Odillon Barrot, Duc de Harcourt, St. Antoine, Passy, de Pusy, Lacrosse, Hain, Roger, &c., in all eighteen. After the reading of a communication from the London committee, I addressed them on the Christian fundamental principles of the Anti-slavery Society, and on the subject in an economic point of view, endeavouring to correct mistakes, &c. Several of the company spoke. The Government is to be questioned in the Chamber as to their intentions respecting the *projet de loi*, and when they will bring it forward. The first step has certainly been taken in the publication of the *projet*, and, on the whole, hope prevails. The evening was highly animating and interesting. I was particularly pleased with Odillon Barrot, whose fine noble face is just of a piece with his large and liberal sentiments.

5th mo., *13th.* We were refreshed this morning with the happy intelligence, that dearest J. H. and Anna were safely arrived. They are well, and it is a great joy to meet again. An interesting call from L'abbé ——, who openly confessed to me his disbelief in many of the absurdities of popery, pointing out, in plain terms, the moral dangers both of celibacy and confession. He wished, however, to know how we were to come at unity without the authoritative *dicta* of the church. I told him that, on all essential points, the Scriptures are sufficient as an exterior standard; that, on minor points, differences are not hurtful, rather the contrary; and that as to true unity, it was the simple result of our being baptized by one Spirit into one body. I also explained to him the grounds on which we admit the preaching of women, with which he seemed satisfied.

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I felt very unequal to our evening party, but we were mercifully helped. It was very large, about 100, I believe, including Count and Countess Pelet, Baron and Baroness Mallet and family, Charles and Louisa Mallet, Lafarelle and his wife, General Menaisier, Vermeil, Countess Laystere, (Lafayette's daughter,) Lady Isabella Chabot and her daughter, (ladies to the Queen,) and Monod, our interpreter. It was understood to be a *réunion religieuse*. I read most of John iii, and afterwards spoke in French on the new birth and on faith in Christ, to a quiet and attentive audience. After a solemn pause, my dear wife addressed the assembly with great clearness and force, on the words of Daniel to Belshazzar, &c., then my sister, in excellent counsel and exhortation. In conclusion, prayer devolved on me. This opportunity has afforded us great relief; many Roman Catholics as well as Protestants were present, and it was a solid meeting. My wife's faithful address appeared to produce a great impression.

First day, 5th mo., 14th. The day has passed off to our satisfaction. The morning meeting was a time of favour, but not quite on the same level as our meeting at four o'clock at the Rue du Phot, which was largely attended, amongst others, by De Toqueville, Moreau Christophe, Baron Raget, the Eynards, many of the Greeks, &c., &c. I spoke at length on the subject of the kingdom of Christ; the means of entrance—the baptism of the Spirit; the means of being sustained as members of this kingdom —eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Christ spiritually. A full answer was given to the question, Who is the King who governs this kingdom, and how does he conduct his reign? I was enabled to speak with much greater facility in French, than on any former occasion, and was afterwards engaged in prayer for the people of this city and country, the King and his family, &c. My sister followed me in ministry with good effect. It was, on the whole, a time of remarkable relief. Count and Countess Pelet dined with us. In the evening we had the English and Americans now at the hotel, a large company; and a truly solemn meeting after the reading of Matthew x and xi. A gentleman from Liverpool expressed his gratitude in a very touching manner.

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Thus the visit to this place ends, through the tender mercy of our God, with the best wine.

5th mo., 16*th*. Our intended departure for Fontainbleau was prevented by a note from Guizot, informing us of the King's intention to receive us the next morning. Beranger, Peer of France, a pious Roman Catholic, much interested in prisons, called, and some others. In the evening we had Count and Countess Pelet, De Toqueville and his wife, Moreau Christophe, Vicomte Dessonville, Lafarelle, and Monod to interpret. My sister wished to lay before them her view of the evils still prevalent in the French prisons. It was, I trust, a time of useful remark and discussion. We concluded with reading a few verses in John xv., after which I preached a plain English sermon to three important men—Pelet, Christophe, and De Toqueville—reminding them of the importance of their responsibilities as public men, and of the only principle by which they could be enabled to perform them aright. My sister afterwards presented each of them with a copy of the English Bible with references. Thus our staying another day at Paris did not seem to be quite in vain.

Fontainbleau, 5th mo., 17th.

[This morning] we went in our carriage with post horses to Neuilly, and arrived at the *château* at eleven o'clock. After a short waiting, we were ushered into the drawing-room, where we found the Queen and Princess Adelaide at work with their ladies; three gentlemen standing in attendance. The Queen looked a little thinned by grief* and age, since I saw her before, but was very kind and interesting. Princess Adelaide very plain and simple in her appearance, with all the air of a truly good person. The King soon came in, and gave us a gentlemanlike welcome, desiring us to resume our seats, and sitting by us in a sociable way. My sister spoke to him a little on the state of the prisons, of the dangers of the proposed cellular system, and on the necessity

* It will be recollected that the death of her eldest son, the Duke of Orleans, had then but recently occurred.

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of its alleviations. I added a little, describing the system as practised at Philadelphia. I then spoke of the West Indies; referred to the diminution of produce of late years, explained the cause, mentioned the favourable change in the practice of the planters, and the consequently improved state of things, and increasing production of sugar; also the good behavionr of the free blacks in Antigua, who had agreed not to ask higher wages, they being paid at a low figure, notwithstanding the increased demand for their labour arising from the late earthquake. I told the King, that, since I had seen him last, I had conversed with the Kings of Holland and of Denmark, who were looking to France for an example, and pressed on him the great duty of abolition as far as I could. He seemed to me to be devoid of prejudice against the measure, but pleaded the usual difficulty, "*C'est l'argent.*" I hope, however, that some impression was made. My dear wife then asked for silence. This was readily granted, and she was enabled with great clearness and force to address them; expressing her desire, that the best of blessings might descend upon the King and Queen, and upon all the royal family; assuring them that her heart had been touched by the remembrance, that even kings and princes are not exempt from the common lot of humanity; and, adverting to the bitter draught of adversity, of which they had so largely partaken, she reminded them of the declaration of Scripture, that the Lord doth not willingly afflict, nor grieve the children of men, but that his mercy is "from everlasting to everlasting upon them that fear him, and his righteousness unto children's children, to such as keep his covenant, and to those that remember his commandments to do them."

The impression made was great; and all the three royal personages warmly expressed their gratitude for this "prayer," as the King called it. My sister Fry followed shortly in sweet expressions of her sympathy; and of her desire that these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, might be so received on their parts, as to work out for them a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. I then told them that in our last meeting

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in Paris I had been led to pray publicly for the King and Queen of the French, that they might be permitted in due season, to exchange their temporal crown for one eternal, unfading, and full of glory. This seemed to touch them. "Ah! that is the only crown," said the Queen. Before we separated, I spoke to the King on the subject of peace, and told him how much he lived in the hearts of Englishmen, in his known character of the patron of peace. He cordially responded to this view, adding, that when he was resident in America, his favourite toast was "a speedy and general peace." He well remembered attending a Friends' meeting in Philadelphia, "some fifty years ago, before you were born," said he, addressing my wife. He shook hands warmly with us on our departure, and we returned to our hotel, with very pleasing impressions respecting those whom we had just visited, and in much peace.

Joseph John Gurney, with his wife and daughter, now pursued their journey towards the south of France and Switzerland, leaving Elizabeth Fry and her daughter still engaged in Paris.

5th mo., 19*th*. Comfortable journey through Burgundy, &c., from Fontainbleau to Auxerre; the country abounding in vineyards, and divided into innumerable small strips, the effect, as I suppose, of the law of division of property. It seems very doubtful whether this law tends to the moral and social improvement of the community. It is not exactly natural, and impedes the course of human industry, talent, and zeal. Yet it must be owned, that the people seem to be very much at their ease.

5th mo., 22*nd*. [From Chalons sur Saone] an agreeable journey by the banks of the beautiful Saone brought us first to Tournon, where an *instituteur* (Thierry) performs the part of *pasteur* to a flock of Protestants, (about 150,) chiefly poor, converted Roman Catholics, in the town and neighbourhood. His school was pretty fair, and I have no doubt he is doing much good in a very simple way. I hesitated whether I ought not to stop for a meeting, but

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felt impelled to go on, though there seemed little probability of obtaining a meeting at Macon, two stages further, to which I had been looking. There, however, we arrived about five o'clock, at the comfortable Hotel de l'Europe, and soon obtained an interview with Zipperlin, a German by birth, the *pasteur* of a flock of about 300 Protestants here, chiefly gathered from among the Roman Catholics. He is a man in early middle life, of warm heart, sound principles, and good talents. He agreed to summon his flock for the evening at eight o'clock, or such of them as could be obtained; promising some twenty or thirty. But on our arrival at the truly simple and unadorned chapel, we found about 100 decent persons assembled; the men as numerous as the women. Zipperlin went through his own service (simple and lively in its way) of a short hymn, short prayer, chapter in Scripture—1 John, iii, and a few remarks, in which he kindly introduced us, speaking in the true spirit of a Christian brother. We kept our seats quietly the while. He then requested silence on our behalf. After a comfortable pause, I rose, and was enabled to address the congregation in French, under some precious feeling of the unction which qualifies; showing the characteristics of the true church; the necessary means of entrance into it; the nature and operation of saving faith in Christ; the sanctifying influence of the Spirit, and the necessity of walking worthy of our vocation; the race here, the prize hereafter. My dear wife spoke afterwards with much sweetness, and I felt true peace in interpreting for her. The meeting concluded with prayer.

Lyons, 5th mo., 27th.

Our way has gradually opened here, I hope, to useful and important service; but it has been a time of some bodily indisposition, and of much weight of religious exercise; perhaps, I might say, secret depression and conflict of mind. The state of things in this place, in a religious point of view, is decidedly interesting. The Roman Catholics are in great force, and very zealous and determined. The Jesuits have the sway amongst them, and Lyons is the centre of the vast penny-a-week subscription which is now regularly raised by the Romish

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population of France for the propagation of their faith. So much greater is the zeal of Lyons than of Paris, that whereas the latter, with her million of inhabitants, raised 80,000 francs last year, Lyons, with 230,000 inhabitants, raised 140,000 francs. We are told that there is a great deal of sincere piety amongst them; that many are seeking rest for their souls; and several hundreds have been converted by evangelical preaching, who now regularly attend the evangelical chapel. The Protestants, about 10,000 in number, are, for the most part, dead and negligent in religion, attending no place of worship, and buried in the world. There is a considerable congregation, of the more respectable classes, who meet at the "Temple," under the care of the Consistory and *pasteur* Buisson, and his colleagues, who are opposed to evangelical religion. Adolphe Monod, who, after his conversion, boldly preached the gospel among them, was finally excluded. This led to the formation of the little evangelical church, which has been gradually increasing ever since; and now they have an excellent chapel, which will hold nearly 1000 people. These are chiefly converts from the lower classes of the Roman Catholics; simple-hearted, and well affected; many of them, it is hoped, Christians indeed. The ministry of this chapel is conducted by three *pasteurs*, Cordes, Fische, and Laught; Adolphe Monod having removed several years since to Montauban, where he is one of the professors. * * *

Yesterday, (the 26th,) we took two interesting walks in the course of the morning; one to the Rhone, a splendid river, seen, even here, with a frame-work of mountains; the other, to the chapel of the Virgin Mary, at the top of a neighbouring hill, which innumerable pilgrims visit, and there deposit their absurd little pictures, and waxen images of the parts of their bodies for which they require healing. The whole chapel is hung with these offerings, and with idolatrous inscriptions in verse and prose to the Virgin. Nothing can be more distinctly Pagan than the whole affair. Yet there was an appearance of unmoved and statue-like devotion in some of the people who were kneeling on the floor. Over the door-way is an inscription, in which the

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people of Lyons publicly ascribe their preservation from cholera, on two occasions, to the intercession of Mary. From the top of the observatory, hard by this temple of Diana, we enjoyed a splendid view of this great city; of the course of the Saone and Rhone, and of their junction; of a vast tract of fertile country, clad in the greenness of the early summer; and of the snow-clad Alps in the distance, our first, and not-to-be-forgotten, sight of these glorious mountains. Through the telescope we minutely examined some Roman remains at a distance—two aqueducts, and a small temple built in honour of Augustus.

First day, 5th mo., 28th. A memorable day, for which we have reason to be very thankful. The services of it flowed on in their own course, under what, I humbly believe, was divine guidance. First, our own little, quiet, solemn meeting at ten o'clock. I then went, somewhat refreshed, to the Evangelical chapel, where I found a very considerable congregation. I took and kept my seat quietly; Laught was preaching. After he had ended, an opportunity was kindly given me of taking my farewell, which I was enabled to do under a sweet solemnity—"Finally, brethren, farewell, be perfect," &c. I visited the library attached to the chapel; attended and stirred up a little committee for distributing the Bible; and then, under the friendly guidance of the brethren, found my way to the neat apartment of Gezler, a sick man. I had a precious sitting in that family; they seemed to be truly spiritually-minded people. After a good rest at the hotel, I again went to the chapel to be present at the end of the English Church service: about ten persons present. Collins, sent by the Colonial Society, the clergyman. He kindly allowed me to address his tiny flock, which I did, calling them to a watchful walk before men. I afterwards invited them to our evening meeting at the hotel. This was held at seven o'clock, and proved a highly satisfactory occasion. Buisson had given notice of it in the "Temple." Both our large rooms were crowded. I first addressed them shortly on the slave-trade and slavery, and on the right management of prisoners. I then read Psalm ciii, after which we fell into silence. This was broken by my dear wife,

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who spoke with great clearness and effect, pleading for sound, simple, practical religion; interpreted for by our young friend Perrin. After she had concluded, and a short silence had intervened, I was enabled to preach the gospel at some length, unfolding the subject of Christianity, as calculated, in its several parts, to excite the strongest motives of the human mind—fear, hope, love—showing that the grand peculiarities of the truth as it is in Jesus, were absolutely essential. The meeting closed in much solemnity. A few of our friends stayed with us afterwards, and very sweet was the love which bound us together. The day ended in much peace, and in the feeling that our work at Lyons was finished.

Avignon, 5th mo., 31st.

We took the boat from Lyons about nine o'clock, and enjoyed a delightful voyage to this place; the river magnificent, the weather delightful, and the scenery pleasing, but not so picturesque as north of Valence. Our readings and conversations in the steamer were satisfactory, with some distribution of tracts; the people, as usual, amiable and easy to please. On board, amongst others, were Gerandi, late member of the chamber of deputies, and superintendent of the king's private demesnes; *Senateur* Harrier, of Frankfort, much occupied about prisons, and bent, like others on the continent, on the cellular system; also *l'abbé* Cocquereau, who went to St. Helena to fetch the remains of Napoleon; a very lively personage. He assured me, that when they opened the coffin of Napoleon, his countenance and person were in perfect preservation, exactly like those portraits of him to which one is accustomed. I asked him if it was true, that the Emperor became religious before he died. This he fully confirmed, having, as he said, received from those who were with him full evidence of it. The Emperor declared he was of the Apostolic Roman Catholic Church; ordered an altar to be prepared (*dressé*) for him in spite of Bertrand's unwillingness; confessed to a priest, who spent many hours in private with him shortly before he died; received the communion, extreme unction, and other forms of that church. I inquired whether all this was matter of

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form, or whether he really confessed his faith in Jesus Christ as the Saviour of the world. The Abbé declared that he did so fully and clearly. What amount of satisfaction one ought to feel in such a case, I know not. The most satisfactory feature would have been *deep* repentance for his many sins, and especially for the unmeasured and unmeasurable shedding of blood.

The old palace of the Popes has an imposing appearance as we approach this interesting old city by the Rhone. The warmth and pleasantness of the air, and beautiful verdure of elms, planes, &c., give a new feeling of life to us. It was here, and in this hotel, (the Hotel de l'Europe,) that my beloved young brother-in-law, Robert Fowler, died of a violent fever, which he appears to have caught in Spain. In the evening, we drove to the Cemetery, and saw the peaceful spot, marked by a simple stone bearing his name, and shadowed by four young cypress trees, where his remains are deposited. It was to me a touching spectacle, full of remembrances, at once happy and melancholy. * * *

5th mo., 31*st*. Pierron the landlord, and his wife, gave us an interesting account of dear Robert's illness and death. Pierron read the Scriptures to him, which appears to have been very satisfactory. He was remarkably patient and resigned; but did not give up the hope of recovery until the last day. Almost always in the attitude of contemplation and mental prayer. Poor fellow! he seems to have been most kindly attended to by these dear people; and there is a sweet feeling over my mind that his soul rests in Jesus.

We have been visiting the old palace of the Popes, where we had some serious conversation with a few of the soldiers, for it is now the barracks. An old lady showed us the dungeons, *salle de jugemens*, and places of torture, used under the Popes, in the Inquisition. On the wall of one of the dungeons were several inscriptions graven by the poor sufferers. One was "the truth of God shall endure for ever and ever," in Latin. The place where they were burned was also shown to us; the station of the wheel; the furnace for branding; the stone vessel in which they were plunged into boiling water, &c. Also the chamber in which

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eighty-four aristocrats were decapitated under Robespierre; the traces of their blood pointed out, &c. How far these scenes of horror were exaggerated to us I know not; but I fear there is much of truth in the awful recital. The *château* was partly demolished at the time of the Revolution. A pleasant visit to the Hotel des Invalides, where we found Bonaparte's old soldiers, enjoying themselves under the delightful shade of the avenues of the gardens. We declared the truth as it is in Jesus to several little companies of them, and appeared to be pretty well understood. Afterwards I called on a lady named Imer, the aunt, by marriage, of Frank Courtois, of Toulouse; evidently an enlightened and pious woman.

It was nearly nine o'clock in the evening when the *Pasteur* Frossard accompanied us to his school-room, where we found about fifty people assembled, as many as the room would contain; numbers, both Roman Catholics and Protestants, had been sent away for want of room. We sat together for a time in solemn silence; after which I rose with the words, "Fear not little flock; for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." It was a solemn occasion, ending in fervent prayer. Several there seemed truly grateful, and all of them warm and hearty.

Nismes, 6th mo., 1st.

[Before leaving Avignon this morning] we had an opportunity of religious intercourse with our truly kind and pious host and hostess of the Hotel de l'Europe. They are full of tender recollections of my dear brother, whose grave we have now left, cleared of weeds and covered with turf, under the pleasant shade of the four young cypress trees. We parted from these kind friends in Christian love. Afterwards a little party of Protestants called upon us: Frossard, Gebhard and his wife, our friend Imer, and others; with whom we read Gal. v, and after the subsequent silence, we were both led into ministry. A real solemnity was over us; and love and peace seemed to flow sweetly at the close of this affecting and interesting visit to Avignon. On our way to Nismes, we visited that splendid relic of Roman architecture, the

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Pont du Gard, a ruined aqueduct. The ruin is striking and interesting, and the surrounding scenery very picturesque. It is quite a privilege to behold such things, and is far, indeed, from interrupting the flow of better and holier things. I love true Christian liberty in such matters.

Our kind friend Lydia, and afterwards Christine, Majolier, called upon us; the latter, our dear and affectionate friend and helper, dined with us, and then accompanied us to their week-day meeting, which is held in the girls' school-room on a fifth day evening. The whole flock was assembled, about forty, including the children; and the dear aged widow of Louis Majolier, who now lives here with her daughters. It was a solemn, encouraging time, in which consolation was given to the mourners; prayer at the conclusion. My dear wife spoke sweetly on the benefit of silence. Tears flowed abundantly. After the meeting was concluded, the girls despoiled their pretty garden, in their zeal to load us with flowers; and we returned to our hotel, well satisfied with the first step in the visit to Friends of the south of France.

6th mo., 2nd. A very interesting visit to the school in the morning. It was a gratification to give so much pleasure to the children, and to receive the tokens of their affection and gratitude. They are evidently well taught and trained. On our way home we visited La Fontaine; fine public walks, with old Roman baths; also the amphitheatre, which presents a wonderful proof of the splendour, wealth, and skill, as well as barbarity of ancient times. Seldom have I looked on a more imposing spectacle. In the afternoon we drove a few miles into the country, with Christine, to visit some friends of hers, named Sagnier, who amuse themselves with an establishment of silkworms. It is just the height of the season; and we were much interested by the examination of those 300,000 worms; some feeding; some busily spinning; others already buried in their cocoons. About thirty of the principal Protestants met us in the evening, to whom I gave an account of our visit to Silesia, and of the two systems of prison discipline practised in America. Some serious remarks concluded the evening. I endeavoured, in the best sense, to feel my way,

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and to go as far as circumstances admitted. Christine, who is a private teacher here, has no small place in the regard and affection of the people.

First day, (6th mo., 4th,) was one of peculiar favour. The meetings were held at the school: morning, ten o'clock; evening, six o'clock. Many, besides Friends, attended in the morning; it was a very weighty, anointed meeting, in which true solemnity was felt, and the freedom and spirituality of the gospel dispensation fully unfolded. Anna went afterwards to the Protestant first-day school. Otherwise we were quiet till the evening, when a large assembly were well accommodated in the adjoining apartments at the school. I was enabled to preach at large, and with clearness, on Christ's being made unto us of God, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. It was a great favour to be helped through this service.

After detailing various other religious engagements at Nismes and in its neighbourhood, Joseph John Gurney continues:—

Fifth day. A most interesting morning. Our last meeting for worship with the Friends and the children of the school was truly memorable. I was led to unfold the nature and effects of our distinguishing principles, also the history of the first rise of the Society; and very solemn was the effusion of prayer at the close. This meeting leaves me without a burden as it regards this place. Since the meeting, we have been rambling over that astonishing relic of antiquity, the Roman Amphitheatre, with E. Frossard, who has been kindly explaining to us its several parts. What strange scenes have been enacted there! Sham sea fights; combats of gladiators; fights with wild beasts; cruel martyrdoms. What multitudes of the three classes, patricians, *equites*, plebeians, whose respective "*loca*" are still marked, as well as those in front for the *familiæ insignes;* while the common people, both male and female, thronged the galleries, and crowded the seats of stone. Twenty-three thousand could be seated at

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once; and the building is so constructed as to allow of their dispersing in a few minutes.

During our drive to Congenies our driver lost the control of his horses, as we were going down a hill, and we were in considerable danger for a few minutes, but preservation was round about us; and no harm occurred, either to ourselves or our carriage. Surely we have abundant cause for thankfulness! We arrived at Congenies in the evening, in time for meeting. It was large, attended by the Friends generally, and many others, some of whom were disturbing enough; but we had, nevertheless, a good meeting, in which we were both engaged in ministry. I was led to unfold the teaching of the Lord; by the Scriptures; by afflictions; by his Spirit. The simple-hearted Friends crowded round us, and seemed delighted to see us, and we found ample, though humble accommodation at the house of the Majolier family, where we are most kindly entertained. Much peace rested on our settlement here.

Sixth day. A day of quiet repose at Congenies, without an attempt at any exertion beyond reading, writing, drawing, walking, and talking with the Friends. The weather was delightful; and it is interesting to find ourselves in the midst of the vine, the olive, the fig, the pomegranate, and the almond tree. The wine produced here is inferior, and is used almost entirely in the distilleries for making brandy. The vineyards at present pay badly, and I have been thinking that the soil might be turned, with advantage, to a better use. It produces wheat, barley, and oats, without difficulty. We enjoyed a fine view of the village, the surrounding country, and the distant mountains of the Cevennes, from the top of a rocky hill, which we climbed in the evening. On the whole, it was a day of inward peace, not devoid of its twin sister on earth, deep, inward poverty! To this some of us are surely no strangers.

Seventh day. We have begun our family visit in good earnest. Seven sittings this morning. I believe they were not entered upon by either of us without some preparatory baptism of secret depression; but so far we can acknowledge that the Lord has been

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graciously with us, on each successive occasion, not withholding a measure of his own anointing. There are several simple-hearted Friends here; but it was in a family of Methodists, father, mother, and six sons, (the aged grandmother, sister of the widow Majolier, being the only Friend of the party,) that there was the most remarkable flow of the heavenly oil. The eldest son was on his bed of sickness; once a soldier, now evidently a child of the Lord.

Whilst thus engaged at Congenies, Joseph John Gurney was attacked with fever, which, for a time, awakened considerable uneasiness. The symptoms, however, gradually subsided; and, after an interval of rest, he was enabled to conclude his labours in this part of France.

Second day, 6th mo., 26th. We are now at Nismes. The complaint gradually subsided on fifth and sixth days, and yesterday the way opened unexpectedly for attending the meeting of Friends at Congenies, which was a time of much quiet and satisfactory feeling. Notwithstanding my weakness, I felt constrained to appoint a meeting at Calvisson, a neighbouring town, on a concern in which my wife was evidently a fellow-labourer. Hundreds of people met; many of them [illegible] three. But strength was given, and my dear wife [illegible] the language of [illegible] as well as interpreter, [illegible] peace.

[illegible] gue, yet I am but [illegible] of divine love and [illegible] Congenies, where we [illegible], and where I feel [illegible] dear Friends of that [illegible] The Lord lift up the [illegible] them peace!

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CHAPTER XLI.

1848. ÆT. 55—56.

JOURNEY THROUGH SAVOY INTO SWITZERLAND; CHAMBERY; ANNECY; GENEVA; COUNTESS DE SELLON; LAUSANNE; NEUFCHATEL; ZURICH; BASLE; STRASBURG; STUTGARD; VISIT TO THE KING AND QUEEN OF WÜRTEMBERG; BRUSSELS; CALAIS.

PROCEEDING by easy stages, Joseph John Gurney pursued his journey by way of Savoy towards Switzerland.

Grenoble, 7th mo., 1st.

have been travelling through a lovely country, and have a sense of true peace. In the afternoon of fifth day we about thirty miles through the valley of the Isere, a river, now ... ll from the late rains, to St. Marcellin; ting on our ... merous tracts and little books. Our yesterday ... four stages, through a still more esque part of ... valley, was really charming. The ... of the val... casional catches of the broad silver ... of the Isè... noble mountains on either side, not ...ontion the ..., and pleasant, prosperous-looking ...ation, gave ...ure. We conversed at Tullins with ... about th... from Popery, who have lately been ...t, with ...an instrumentality, to the knowledge ... truth, ...lax-dresser; and were pleased with his ... and ... arrived at this beautiful place in time dinner ...ng we walked out to the *quai*, where a ...ndid ...rgotten view of the snowy Alps, their ...ps ill... sun, burst unexpectedly upon us. This

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Whilst thus engaged at Congenies, Joseph John Gurney was attacked with fever, which, for a time, awakened considerable uneasiness. The symptoms, however, gradually subsided; and, after an interval of rest, he was enabled to conclude his labours in this part of France.

Second day, 6th mo., 26th. We are now at Nismes. The complaint gradually subsided on fifth and sixth days, and yesterday the way opened unexpectedly for attending the meeting of Friends of Congenies, which was a time of much quiet and satisfactory feeling. Notwithstanding my weakness, I felt constrained to appoint a public meeting at Calvisson, a neighbouring town, for the evening; a concern in which my wife was evidently a deeply-feeling partner; hundreds of people met; many of them rough and ungodly in a high degree. But strength was given me to deliver the gospel message, and my dear wife was afterwards memorably engaged, partly in the language of awful warning. Christine performed her part well as interpreter, and we returned to Congenies, unhurt, and in peace.

We came forward to Nismes, with little fatigue, yet I am but very feeble. Sweet and solemn was the stamp of divine love and peace which rested on our departure from Congenies, where we have been most kindly and generously treated, and where I feel that our work is done. The Lord keep our dear Friends of that meeting under the shadow of his wings. The Lord lift up the light of his countenance upon them, and give them peace!

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CHAPTER XLI.

1843. ÆT. 55—56.

JOURNEY THROUGH SAVOY INTO SWITZERLAND; CHAMBERY; ANNECY; GENEVA; COUNTESS DE SELLON; LAUSANNE; NEUFCHATEL; ZURICH; BASLE; STRASBURG; STUTGARD; VISIT TO THE KING AND QUEEN OF WÜRTEMBERG; BRUSSELS; CALAIS.

PROCEEDING by easy stages, Joseph John Gurney pursued his journey by way of Savoy towards Switzerland.

Grenoble, 7th mo., 1st.

We have been travelling through a lovely country, and have enjoyed a sense of true peace. In the afternoon of fifth day we drove about thirty miles through the valley of the Isere, a beautiful river, now very full from the late rains, to St. Marcellin; distributing on our way numerous tracts and little books. Our drive yesterday morning, of four stages, through a still more picturesque part of this lovely valley, was really charming. The richness of the valley, the occasional catches of the broad silver stream of the Isere, and the noble mountains on either side, not to mention the neat houses, and pleasant, prosperous-looking population, gave us real pleasure. We conversed at Tullins with one of about thirty converts from Popery, who have lately been brought, with little of human instrumentality, to the knowledge of the truth,—Martinez, a flax-dresser; and were pleased with his spirit and appearance. We arrived at this beautiful place in time for dinner. In the evening we walked out to the *quai*, where a splendid, and not-to-be-forgotten view of the snowy Alps, their tops illuminated by the sun, burst unexpectedly upon us. This

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morning my dear wife and I have been again feasting on these delicious views. This apparently thriving town on the Isere, of nearly 30,000 inhabitants, is environed with mountains. Some of these are always snow-capped; but, after a wet and cold spring, this is more than usually the case at present; and glorious, in the view of those who can say "My Father made them all," is the aspect which they present.

Chambery, 7th mo., 3rd.

Soon after the last entry *Pasteur* Bonifas called; a man of somewhat advanced years; very kind and agreeable, and devoted to the cause of Christ. His wife is a cousin of Guizot's, and they have the care of nine young ladies, with the assistance of an English governess. It was finally agreed that he should give notice at the close of his morning worship, of a meeting to be held by me, after the manner of Friends, in the afternoon. Yesterday morning, first day, we sat down to our little private meeting, which was a time of true refreshment. I was much engaged in prayer. About two o'clock we went to the "Temple." Somewhat more than one hundred persons present, including about twenty soldiers, perhaps more. The pulpit was delivered up to me; and I believe a meeting was truly held, after the manner of Friends. I explained our views of worship; and, after a solemn silence, rose with the words, the "Sceptre shall not depart from Judah," &c.; on which I was enabled to preach fully, declaring the glorious gospel at considerable length. Afterwards solemn prayer ensued. At the close I ventured to give notice of a meeting to be held in the evening, at our hotel; at half-past seven. We returned home in a good degree of peace. To our comfort, a large and most desirable assembly met in the evening, a larger meeting in a private house than had ever before been known at Grenoble. We read part of Romans viii; explaining that Scripture reading was our constant practice on a first day evening. After a solemn silence, my dear wife addressed the assembly in a close, searching, but truly evangelical discourse. The lady who kindly undertook to interpret failed in her attempt, and the office devolved on me. There was a sweet and precious solemnity over us, and I was

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enabled to do it with ease to myself, and comfort to us both. After she had finished, I was much enlarged in ministry. It was a remarkably solid and satisfactory meeting. Thus after deep humiliation, poverty, and weakness, the Lord was again pleased to open the way for service among many who are evidently hungering and thirsting after righteousness. The result was great peace.

This morning we paid a highly interesting visit to the *pasteur* and his family, including the school. We have since travelled about forty miles to this place, (Chambery,) through such scenery as I had never met with before. The rich valley of the Isere, adorned with trellissed vines, walnut, chestnut, and other trees, and ripening corn; and the silver stream ever and anon extending the whole way through a glorious defile of mountains; those on our left lofty and regularly stratified limestone rocks, many of them covered with brushwood to a great height; and those on the right, the Alps of the Mont-Cenis range, covered with snow. The population appeared healthy, well-clad, industrious, and at their ease; many haymaking, in picturesque groups. After passing the Savoy *Douane* with much ease, we arrived at the comfortable Hôtel de la Poste; and, though somewhat fatigued and feeble, have much cause for thankfulness in being quietly here.

Annecy, 7th mo., 4th.

After a day of considerable feebleness, and a drive of four stages through a very fertile country, without very much to interest, except the magnificent view of the valley of Chambery on leaving it, we came to this lovely spot in time for an hour's rest before a five o'clock dinner. My wife and I enjoyed our quiet Scripture reading, &c., as we came along. It is, however, affecting to be passing through a country in which the people are wholly in the hands of a useless military force on the one hand, and of numberless ecclesiastics on the other. It is surely a land of darkness; and so strict is the Government of Savoy, that not a religious tract can be distributed by the Christian traveller with impunity. We have heard of an English gentleman being thrown

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into prison for some months for this offence! O that the light of the gospel may, in some unexpected manner, and in despite of all human or diabolical powers, break forth amongst them!

Annecy is a pretty town of 12,000 inhabitants, the second in Savoy, after Chambery, situated on the borders of a lovely mountain-girt lake, four leagues in length. We have greatly enjoyed a row of an hour or two on these waters this evening, and seem to be now concluding our day in a measure of true peace.

Geneva, 7th mo., 5th.

The Hôtel des Bergues, where we have taken up our quarters, promises to be a delightful temporary home. It is on the borders of the lake, which our apartments face; and before us, at the distance of sixty miles, the summit and shoulder of Mont Blanc, white with snow, are distinctly visible above the long slope of a dark mountain in front of them. The atmosphere is clear, and the town looks clean and bright. We are well pleased, I trust, thankful, to be here; a place I have long thought about and looked towards. I have felt but feeble this evening, and we may probably pass a day or two in surveying the lake, before we attempt a beginning of service.

7th mo., 10*th*. Our excursion to the other end of the lake answered well. The weather continued delightful; and nothing could be more lovely than the lake and the surrounding scenery as we passed along, especially towards the upper end, where the mountains overhanging the south coast, are truly sublime. Not much less beautiful are the green, cultivated slopes of the northern shore, adorned with pretty villages and towns, and backed by the range of the Jura. We reached Vevay in the evening. There we found just such a resting-place as I wanted, facing the end of the lake, and mountain scenery of the noblest character. The Dent du Midi, covered with snow, was full in sight. We greatly enjoyed our quiet evening there on fifth day. * * Our voyage back to Geneva was very pleasant. In the course of it we made an interesting acquaintance with the Princess Mary, of Würtemberg, a very pleasing personage, who recognized me from the

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description which her sister, the Princess of Orange, had given her of our visit at the Hague. Princess Mary is travelling with her husband, Count Niepberg, the son of the gentleman who married the Empress, Marie Louise. On our arrival at Geneva, on sixth day evening, we were met by my old friend the *Pasteur* Gaussen, who is full of recollections of his visit to Earlham, of my brother and sister Cunningham, and others of the family. He is, indeed, a warm-hearted, Christian friend. He warmly invited me to "preach" at the Oratoire on first day evening, but so I was not led.

On seventh day we received an early visit from the Countess de Sellon, and her two unmarried daughters, very agreeable people. The Countess took me to *Pasteur* Barde, an evangelical clergyman of the National Church, with whom I was much pleased, and at whose house I met another *pasteur*, the brother-in-law of Cordes, of Lyons. We concluded to hold our first meeting at the hotel, and I afterwards went to Gaussen to inform him of our conclusion. He was a little disappointed, I think, but kindly agreed to give notice of it, in the Oratoire after the morning service.

In the afternoon we drove to *La Fenêtre*, the delightful country residence of the Countess de Sellon, where there is a fine view of the lake, and, when the sky is clear, of Mont Blanc. We had a good religious opportunity in her family. Her late husband was a man of high character and great philanthropy, the founder of the Peace Society here; and I humbly trust, died the death of the Christian. I believed myself led to quote the passage, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord," &c., and afterwards found that these words are inscribed on his monument. We then repaired to Gaussen's very pretty retreat, close to Geneva, where we met a pleasant company; Sir Culling Eardley Smith, Hope, Hare, the English clergyman, Perrot, an old friend of the Cunninghams, very hearty, and several ladies, chiefly Swiss. After tea I told them about Silesia, America, &c., in French, and we ended with Psalm xxiii. I think it might be said that true Christian love flowed amongst us. We spent first

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day quietly in our hotel. In the morning we received a very pleasant call from the Princess Mary and her companion. Our little quiet meeting afterwards was truly refreshing and settling, my dear wife being sweetly engaged in prayer.

At six o'clock in the evening many assembled in our large apartment; including the Sellons, Gaussen's daughter and sister, himself prevented by over fatigue, Hare, the clergyman, and others; so as pretty much to fill the room, notwithstanding the rough weather. It was, I trust, a favoured meeting. After a long pause, I first explained our views of worship and spoke a little of the true baptism. My dear wife followed in a flow of encouragement towards the true Christians then assembled. I had great comfort in interpreting for her. Afterwards it was given to me to enlarge on the true nature of the Christian church; the mode of entrance into it; the faith of its living members in all the essential truths of Christianity; the nourishment and refreshment given to them on their journey—the body and blood of Christ, and the waters of life; the government and priesthood of Christ over this universal spiritual body; and the glorious termination—the day of judgment, and the final victory of the saints. The immediate influence and guidance of the Spirit were much enlarged upon; and I trust many hearts responded to the doctrine. Solemn prayer concluded the meeting.

Having been again joined at Geneva by their friend Josiah Forster, Joseph John Gurney writes:—

7th mo., *19th*. Our Sabbath was peaceful and solemn. *Pasteur* Cordes, from Lyons, came in the middle of our morning meeting. Afterwards a kind call, with hearty invitations from the Saladins and Perrots. The evening meeting, at six o'clock, was respectably attended, and I was enabled to declare the truth to an attentive audience. It was, I believe, a good meeting, of which we received various testimonies afterwards. *Pasteur* Barde and his wife of the company. After the meeting a quiet and truly pleasant evening. Josiah Forster read to us the excellent

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epistle of the last Yearly Meeting, and other documents; the day closing with a sweet solemnity. Second day evening pleasantly spent with our friend Perrot, at his beautiful place, surveying the lake. There we met an agreeable Christian party, and the evening concluded with Scripture reading, and a very touching religious opportunity. There is much that is valuable as well as spiritual in the Genevese; the prevailing character more analogous to that of the English than that of the French. Yesterday evening we repaired to the Casino, where 500 or 600 people collected, including nine pastors, many young men, but a majority of ladies. Much facility was afforded me in giving the account of the West Indies, and in arguing the whole case of emancipation, showing the working of Christian principle both in causing it, and in its results. When that subject was finished, I spoke shortly, but, I believe, strongly, on the slavery under which we all are by nature; of its miserable consequences; and of the only deliverance, through the great Emancipator of the human race. There was a very solemn feeling over the meeting at its close. Josiah Forster spoke at the beginning and the end shortly. A true friend and helper he is to me.

7th mo., 23rd. We were favoured with an excellent meeting at Lausanne. Our friend Scholl, who came to us before the meeting, had done his work well in preparing our way. The Oratoire was well filled, several *pasteurs* and other respectable people present. It was a solemn time, and I was enabled to feel the flowing of the holy oil, in the simple preaching of the gospel. The next morning Charles Cook came to breakfast, the apostle of the Methodists on the continent, who, I believe, has been very useful; also a very clever man, Gauthiez, who has the care of the Normal school (which he conducts on Christian principles) for the instruction of the schoolmasters of the whole *Canton de Vaud*. This canton contains 180,000 inhabitants, its government strictly democratic; radicalism is found here, as elsewhere, to be much opposed to evangelical truth. Yet true liberty and the gospel are surely near allies! Before our departure by the boat, the Professor Vinet came to us, a man of great worth and talent,

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who has written very ably on religious liberty, the separation of Church from State, &c. He is a modest, retiring person, his countenance bespeaking his power. He liked the meeting, and gave us the right hand of fellowship. We were glad to return to the delightful Vevay, and its sublime lake and mountain scenery. There also we held a good meeting in the Oratoire, but not numerous, as the notice was short. Matter flowed, and much solemnity and sweetness were to be felt. Our voyage back to Geneva was to me refreshing and agreeable, though I had passed a poor night, not without mental plunges which sometimes beset me.

7th mo., 25th. The *déjeûner* with the pastors and others at Geneva, yesterday, was certainly a highly interesting and satisfactory occasion. All prejudices seemed melted away, and hearty brotherly love was the general feeling. In the evening, to Colonel Tronchin's, at Bésanges, where we met about fifty people, including Merle D'Aubigné. We walked to the Chalet, which the Colonel has built as a refuge for convalescent invalids, presided over by a Protestant *sœur de Charité*. It is a lovely spot, and everything in truly Christian order; nineteen female patients. Colonel Tronchin is a man of large property, who seems abundantly willing to spend and be spent for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ.

After our return from the Chalet, Dr. H——, of Glasgow, related the particulars of the late wondrous secession from the Church of Scotland, in which 480 evangelical ministers, Dr. Chalmers at their head, have left the church, on two grounds;—first, the non-intrusion principle, which the Church in Synod had decreed before the secession;. to the effect that no minister should be forced on any parish by patrons, whether the crown, or individuals, without the consent of the communicant parishioners, or against their veto. The evangelical ministers who had, of late, gradually increased to a decided majority in the synod, adopted this resolution, with a view of so far popularizing the church, as might satisfy the doubts, and check the course of those who were inclined to join the former dissenting secession; which had arisen out of the vain efforts of the late Dr. Andrew Tompson, and

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others, to get the system of patronage abolished by Act of Parliament. In forming this decision, the synod went in direct opposition to the law of the land.* Afterwards a number of ministers who supported the law, in opposition to the decree of the synod, were unfrocked by the ecclesiastical power.—Secondly, the principle of spiritual independence, namely, that the church is a spiritual body, and is capable in inalienable right, and bound in Christian duty, to arrange its own affairs, as it pleases. Finding it impossible to carry out these two principles in the face of the law, the whole party seceded, our dear friend Dr. Chalmers at their head; stoutly maintaining, at the same time, both the doctrines and discipline of the Church of Scotland, and as stoutly declaring that they were still opposed to the voluntary system, and held it to be the bounden duty of the State to support the Church, and so to provide the means of religious instruction for the people. In point of fact, however, it is perfectly clear that the new body, as Dr. H—— observed, is, like the former seceders from the same church, fairly driven into dissent. It is surely an idea, without the smallest practical foundation, that the State is to support the Church, without ever meddling in its affairs. The world chooses to be paid for such patronage. There seems to be no alternative between the subjection of the church to the civil power, and absolute liberty and independence; in other words, a clear divorce between the two parties. These are evidently the views of Merle D'Aubigné, Gaussen, and other evangelical men

* This may, perhaps, be thought to be too strongly stated. The law of the land can hardly be said to have been distinctly defined upon the question, until the decision of the House of Lords, in the Auchterarder case, in 1839, (five years after the "Veto Act" passed the General Assembly,) and the great difference of opinion amongst the Scotch judges, (where the judgment against the right of veto passed only by a majority of eight to five,) would seem almost to justify Dr. Chalmers and his friends in their previous belief, that the General Assembly had not exceeded its jurisdiction, in passing the Veto Act. The Act appears to have received the sanction of some of the leading Scotch lawyers of the day, if not of Lord Brougham himself. See Dr. Chalmers' Life, vol. iii, p. 362, n. The judgment of the House of Lords, however, set at rest the question of law. The subject is discussed with great clearness and force by both Lord Brougham, and Lord Cottenham. See 6 Clark and Finnelly's Reports in the House of Lords, pp. 646—756.

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in Switzerland, especially our friend Vinet, of Lausanne; whose writings on the subject display great power of intellect, a lively fancy for illustration, and a nice sense of truth. * * *

On leaving Geneva this morning, as we passed by Colonel Saladin's, we found a flock of our kind friends waiting on the road to bid us their last hearty adieu—a scene not soon to be forgotten; and quite a little crown to our visit at Geneva.

7th mo., 28th. At Neufchatel Professor Petavel and his wife met us, invited us to tea, and informed us that a meeting was appointed for the evening at the Oratoire. They are pious and hearty people, much alive to the guidance of the Spirit, and attached to the principles of Friends, so far as they know them. They are great friends of our dear friends John and Martha Yeardley, who appear to have paid them a very timely visit, when a beloved son of the family was at the point of death. We drank tea with them, and after a time of silence and ministry, we all went together to the Oratoire. There a considerable assembly was collected—chiefly women. It was a solemn meeting. In connexion with the 35th of Isaiah, I was led to unfold the spiritual reign of Christ, and its blessed effects in changing the hearts and regulating the conduct of men. We afterwards visited the professor's aged mother on her bed of sickness, and ministered to her, as our divine Master was pleased to give us ability. Thus the day ended in peace.

After breakfast the next morning, we received some interesting visits from several of the persons who had attended the evening meeting; among the rest, Perrot, formerly one of the most zealous pastors in the canton, but who found himself stayed in his course, called to silence, to solitude, to introversion of soul. He is now living a life of pious retirement. I reminded him of the cloud resting on the tabernacle. The Israelites were not permitted to journey forwards while it was so; whether for a day, a week, a month, or even a year. But no sooner did it rise and move onward, than they were bound to follow it in the obedience of faith. I believed it would be so with him, and that his present inaction was but a preparation for future service.

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Yesterday we took our slow, but pleasant journey to Berne, passing by the northern part of the lake Neufchatel, and in sight of the small lake Morat. The country pleasant; the wild flowers delightful; the snowy Jungfrau and neighbouring peaks beautifully in sight, during the latter part of the journey. The approach to Berne through a long avenue of limes, very pretty. Arrived to an eight o'clock dinner.

This morning, after some necessary arrangements for our meeting, we started for Hofwyl, about eight miles through a pleasant country, adorned with Bernese cottages, and well cultivated in corn, &c. Our visit to the pastor Fellenberg and his family, of about two hours, was highly interesting. He is an old man of seventy, but full of energy, talent, and benevolence; a genius for the work which engages him, and in which he has been occupied more than forty years. He has a fine, expressive countenance, and converses well. It is in vain to attempt the description of his system, but the chief points are to elucidate and embody all theoretical knowledge, by facts, and so to subordinate all things to the moral nature of man, as to regenerate society by the mere force of education. It is a system which seems to take as its basis, a supposed native capacity in man to become and to be *good through culture!* Yet Christianity is by no means disregarded. It is said to be preached by a Protestant one Sabbath, and by a Roman Catholic the next, in a chapel of the institution; the New Testament is used in the schools, and a certain religious instruction given; and the whole moral system of Fellenberg passes under its name. Yet we could not think that Jesus Christ, *the crucified One*, the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, was the foundation on which our philanthropic and devoted friend was building. He said some things which sadly evinced the contrary. Yet we could not but admire and esteem him. By nature he is surely endowed in no common degree, and his conduct is, by all we hear, truly virtuous. It is for *virtue*, indeed, that he pleads, systematizes, and acts, rather than for the doctrines of grace and sanctification.

The agriculture of Hofwyl surprised me. The whole territory

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reminded me of Holkham in Norfolk—once uncultivated, now well and productively farmed. Fellenberg's *elèves* are in four divisions. The young gentlemen in his own house; forty in number, or somewhat more. The children of the middle class, about sixty-five, in a second house; and those of the poor in a third house, about forty. The three schools united in worship. The boys of number one were just about to commence their vacation of four weeks, to be spent in a walk about Switzerland, under the care, of course, of suitable masters.

In a time of religious retirement with Fellenberg and his family, Josiah Forster and I plainly stated our Christian sentiments, and were answered by our aged friend, with great kindness. I trust we parted from them in Christian love, and that this love was mutual.

Berne, first day afternoon, 7th mo., 30th.

We have found an agreeable resting-place here. Our dear friend Sophia Würstemberger joined us yesterday morning, and after some close consideration, we were favoured to arrange our plans satisfactorily for the week. The latter part of the morning was pleasantly spent in a visit to an institution in the country, for the reformation of naughty boys, who are divided into families after the example of the *Rauhr haus*, near Hamburg. The children, nineteen in number, were industriously at work, and cheerfully gathered round us, listening attentively to a few sentences of Christian counsel. Christian care and instruction, cleanliness and industry, appear to prevail in this institution. May it be productive of real good, as we believe it is! On our way home, we called at a boarding school for poor orphan girls, under thorough Christian care. We all fell into silence under a feeling of good, and the children were addressed by each of us.

The evening we spent at the sequestered abode of Sophia Würstemberger's parents. There we enjoyed a memorable view of the Bernese Alps covered with snow. Who can describe their magnificence? It is but seldom that the clouds have lately allowed any view of them. We gazed, and gazed, and gazed for

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about an hour; receiving abundant information, geographical and historical from our host.

The picture left on the mind by this mountain range, (like that of Mont Blanc and his companions, and of the lower Alps from Grenoble,) is a treasure for life. Surely we may read of the Creator, for some good purpose, in the book of these "everlasting hills." We parted from our kind friends after satisfactory religious communication.

This morning, our little private meeting was, to my feelings, a time of fervent exercise of soul, and some sweet solemnity. I have since visited the prison, and was kindly favoured with an opportunity of addressing about 480 prisoners, all assembled in their chapel, under the interpretation into German of pastor Fellenberg. They seemed attentive and serious; but alas! I fear it is a hard soil to work upon. Four hundred and eighty criminals for a Canton containing 400,000 inhabitants, (1 in 800,) is too large a proportion; and all this in spite of schools, pastors, and a catechetical, formal knowledge of religion, which is general even among the mountaineers. The secret which explains the phenomenon is the prevalence of drunkenness. So much for even the light wines of the continent! Re-commitments, one-fourth. The prisoners work together in companies, and are well employed.

They now proceeded to Zurich by way of Interlaken, from which latter place they visited Grindelwald.

Grindelwald is charming indeed, beyond anything in nature that I ever saw, except, perhaps, Niagara; but we had not time to visit both its glaciers, only the lower one, to and from which we walked and scrambled with much true pleasure. Its magnificent cavern of white and blue ice, (which changes its shape daily, and which, when we visited it, was peculiarly fine, say 150 feet high, and broad and deep in proportion,) can never be forgotten while memory lasts. This glacier is propelling itself, by degrees, more and more into the valley, and brings with it, and pushes before it, large fragments of rock, so that Agassiz's method of

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accounting for the Boulder stones, by the action of glaciers, is not without some practical foundation.

From the hotel at Grindelwald we enjoyed a delightful view of the two glaciers, and the Wetterhorn and Finsteraarhorn towering above them, in the perfection of snowy whiteness. The clouds still obscured the Shreckhorn; but sunshine was upon the general picture: on the green valley; on the pastures no less vividly green; on the sides of the mountains, with woods interspersed, and Bernese *chalets* scattered here and there; on the picturesque spired church and pretty village; on the glaciers; on the dark brown rocks immediately below them, and on the almost magical masses of snow above. O these mountain horns in their pointedness and whiteness! who can forget their beauty and sublimity?

The great Eigher unveiled himself as we descended from Grindelwald towards Interlaken, and when we arrived at the latter place, Jungfrau, in all her beauty, was full in sight.

Humbling, yet substantially relieving to my feelings, was the "Quaker's Meeting" which we held that evening in the Salon de Société at the Belvidere, with some sixteen or eighteen ladies and gentlemen, mostly, to all appearance, of the butterflies of this earth; but they settled into quietness, and received with kindness the plain doctrine which I was led to preach to them, on the Christian's stewardship.

Zurich, 2nd day morning, 8th mo., 7th.

On sixth day, the 5th, we journeyed from Entlebuch quietly and pleasantly enough to Lucerne; where we found a pleasant abode in a house belonging to the Swan Inn, our balcony surveying the beautiful lake and admirable range of mountains, Righi, Pilatus, and their companions, with the snowy Alps behind. After calling on Calame, the deputy from Neufchatel to the Diet, which is held here; and after endeavouring to arrange a meeting in the evening with Bost, (a pious young man, a short-hand writer to the deputation from the Canton de Vaud at the Swiss Diet, but preparing for the ministry,) we spent the early evening in a delightful row on the lovely lake, so far as to give us a view of the four arms which it spreads forth into the

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respective Cantons of Uri, Schwitz, Unterwald, and Lucerne. Nothing can be more charming than the scenery; and when the sun was setting, after our return, the pink and purple hues with which the mountains were tinted, and the bright green of the lake, gave a transitory effect of colouring which I have rarely seen equalled. Best and his wife spent two hours with us in the evening; pious, agreeable young people. Lucerne is a Roman Catholic Canton, and the few Protestants are under depression. If any man becomes a Protestant he is deprived of his citizenship, and becomes an outlaw, the priesthood so bears sway in the government; but the Jesuits are not yet admitted. The Diet was sitting here—Lucerne, Berne, and Zurich receiving it, each two years, in succession. The Cantons are sovereign states; but certain points are placed, by mutual compact, under the authority of the Diet. The Diet has the power to call on the Cantons for proportionate supplies of soldiers, in case of national need. All the male inhabitants are for a time soldierized when young; a foolish practice, which cannot fail to do much harm; one cause, doubtless, of the low state of morals which is prevalent even in free, mountainous, picturesque Switzerland.

Ten hours' journey on seventh day, the 5th, brought us to Zurich. We stopped two hours at Zug, the minute and shabby capital, of 3000 inhabitants, of the smallest state, entirely Roman Catholic. It is situated on the pretty little lake of the same name, on one side flat, on the other crowned with the Righi and other mountains. Talked with a Capuchin prior, of whom there are ten in the town; he was clothed in coarse garments, had the air of piety, and had been visiting an invalid. The road from Zug to Zurich is over a long hill; in descending which, we enjoyed a delightful view of the lake of Zurich and the numerous bright-looking villages on its bank. Zurich itself is a neat prosperous town, as pleasant as the "villages" of New England, about 18,000 inhabitants, and a thriving, populous *voisinage;* the manufacture of silk being the chief employment. In the evening, we received a friendly visit from our kind and effective helper, Matilda Escher, who has been translating into French my work on the Sabbath, and who had

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already arranged our meeting for first day evening, to be held at her father's house. Thus we found our work prepared, and we ended the week in health and peace.

In the morning of yesterday, a clear prospect opened before us of seeing our beloved friend the Countess Pelet and her husband. For this purpose, my dear wife, Anna, and I drove over to Baden, twelve miles, and spent an interesting and satisfactory hour with our dear friends, who were delighted to see us. Baden is a pretty Clifton-like place, though by no means equal to it, on the Limmat, in Argovie. In that Roman Catholic Canton, the government, for political ends, has lately suppressed all the monasteries and convents, which has occasioned great excitement in these parts, and occupies the chief attention of the Diet, being contrary to the federal compact. The Protestant members are opposed to it, as an act contrary to religious liberty. We returned to Zurich in time for dinner; and at half-past six o'clock repaired to the house of the Escher family, where we found about sixty persons, including several pastors and many ladies, already gathered into silence. The solemnity of the occasion was affecting. I was led to speak at some length, showing the true wisdom and true philosophy which are to be found in Christianity, its applicability to the motives of the human mind, and its results—justification, sanctification, and full and final redemption. I was interpreted for into German, by our friend Keller, who keeps a school here, knows English well, and is a serious man. We had afterwards much friendly conversation with the assembled circle, including the Antistes Fuessli, the successor of Gessner, and Langé, Professor of Theology, successor of Strauss, the neologist, who was excluded from the office by a popular revolution in 1839. The people, it seems, respect religion; and we trust the life of it is increasingly known and felt.

Zurich, second day evening.

We received calls this morning from Professor Langé and others of our Christian friends; after which we went, all four together, guided by our young friend Barbara Usteri, to call on Louisa Lavater, the single daughter of the honoured writer and preacher

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of that name. After a life devoted to the service of his Redeemer he was shot in 1801 by one of Massena's soldiers at Zurich, and died after a year of suffering. Gessner, his son-in-law, was Antistes of the clergy here for many years, and died in great peace, at a very advanced age, only last week. Louisa Lavater is a refined and interesting woman, but very infirm. She received our visit and Gospel message with joy. We then went to her elder sister, the widow of Gessner, whom we found content, and even rejoicing in the Lord, in her bereavement, in the belief of her husband's happiness. We afterwards called on Gessner's daughter, the wife of our friend Usteri, and the mother of four pleasing daughters and three sons. She greatly feels her father's death, and was much affected by the words of ministry which we addressed to her. The evening has been very pleasantly spent at the country house, by the lake, of our friends the Eschers. There we met two country pastors, evangelical men, and some pious ladies, friends of the Countess Pelet. We enjoyed the beauty of the place and the company of our friends, and the evening concluded with the reading of 1 John ii, followed by silence and ministry. Thus ended a comfortable day. Lovely looked the lake, and bright the clean white dwellings of the people, under the moonlight, on our return home.

Basle, 8th mo., 11th.

Yesterday we set off for this place; and, after a hot, but not unpleasant journey, arrived here by moonlight at ten o'clock. The country not very interesting, except that much of the road runs within sight of the noble, sweeping Rhine. About twelve miles short of Basle we stopped at Beuggen, where we visited the institution for the boarding and education of destitute children, twenty-five girls and forty-five boys; and of young schoolmasters, from twenty to twenty-five in number, under the care of the *Pasteur* Zeller, who, with his simple, pious wife, has governed this institution twenty-three years. It has been supported by voluntary contributions. We had a pleasant conversation with Zeller, who is a zealous, interesting person, somewhat aged and weakened in body and memory, but full of love; then two

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satisfactory opportunities with the young masters, and with the children. The Christian order of the institution is striking, and many are the instances of the good effects produced among those who have left the school. Surely the blessing of the Lord rests on this Christian undertaking.

8th mo., *12th.* Yesterday morning Josiah Forster and I called at the Mission House on Hoffman; a person eminent both for talent and piety, who is also a professor or director at the university here; and on Spittler, secretary of the Bible Society, who is a very pleasing, devoted person. In the evening we repaired to the Mission House, where about forty met us. With them we held a quiet, solemn meeting, in which I spoke for about an hour, on the nature and operation of the New Covenant. Prayer also was offered in the early part of it. I trust the exercise of the meeting was not in vain, yet I felt low and discouraged afterwards. This morning I have been with Josiah Forster, Spittler, and Dr. Pinkerton, (who, with his daughter Millicent, is here much to our comfort,) to Chrishona, once a Roman Catholic church, on the summit of a wooded hill, about two leagues hence, on the borders of the Black Forest. After having been in ruins for a long period, it was placed by the local government here in the hands of our friend Spittler, who, in a small adjoining house, has nine young men under the care of Schlater, a pious pastor. They work for their living, and travel as *colporteurs*, being carefully educated by the pastor, who has mixed congregations on the Sabbath, of Lutherans, *Réformés*, and Roman Catholics. It is a little light set on a hill; yet the want of any female helper or caretaker is a great defect. We found a poor, wandering Armenian there, whom Spittler has taken in, and is educating. Dr. Pinkerton addressed him beautifully in flowing Russ; and we had a good religious opportunity with these Protestant young men and their preceptor. This Government comprises at present only the town, with 22,000 inhabitants, and three villages; the whole country district, containing seventy villages, having broken off into independence by a revolution, which cost 200 lives and a battle in the neighbouring woods,

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some years ago. This was a Radical movement, and the new Government at once dismissed the evangelical pastors, thirty in number; but as they left the parishes at liberty to dismiss the new ones, and choose others, after a certain time Christian men have again been gradually introduced. Thus the Lord works out his own gracious purposes, notwithstanding all the rage, and folly, and perverseness of men. May it be so more and more!

Second day morning. We have great cause for thankfulness in the prospect, this morning, of leaving Basle for Strasburg, and in the retrospect of the labours of yesterday. These were considerable in amount, as it regards myself. At five o'clock, accompanied by one of the young missionaries, who speaks English, Josiah Forster and I went to the prison; Dr. Pinkerton and another gentleman followed. It was a touching visit, seventy or eighty men and boys; good order; but chains about the necks of many. I read part of Luke xv, in German, and addressed them at some length. Josiah Forster also spoke, and there was great attention and some feeling. We sat with the women separately. Dr. Pinkerton addressed them well; and abundant was their weeping. At six o'clock to the Mission House, where we found a very respectable assembly, much larger than before. Sweet and solemn was our meeting. I spoke in French for about an hour, on baptism into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. I trust the subject was clearly unfolded; and a spiritual view of the baptism here spoken of, seemed to be well received. The main scope of my address, however, was the virtue and excellence of the whole truth, the folly of attempting to sever its essential parts, and the importance of holding them in just and even balances. Practical exhortation followed, and earnest prayer for Basle, for Switzerland, and for the world. Afterwards we partook of the truly simple supper of this large family; W. Hoffman and his wife, a few of their friends, and thirty-eight young missionaries; eleven more expected. After supper I addressed the young men, under Hoffman's interpretation; exhorting them to faithfulness, diligence, watchfulness, devotion: reminding them also that nothing but the true unction can rightly

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direct into, and qualify for, the Lord's work on the earth. Josiah Forster addressed them in German, and this truly interesting occasion ended with solemn prayer. The young men were delighted to receive my sister Fry's Text Book before we separated. There is much of genuine seriousness and great simplicity apparent in these young Christians. They mostly come from Würtemberg; and it is my belief that they are and will be blessed in their work, and will be found as a dew from the Lord among many nations. Western Africa, (the Danish Gold Coast,) and parts of Hindostan are the principle sphere of the missions of this institution. Hoffman is a first-rate man, learned, talented, and pious. He is professor of theology at the little university here. Josiah Forster has been visiting a good orphan asylum this morning. It is surprising how many Christian institutions are maintained in this country. A simple desire to spend and be spent for Christ, and for the advancement of his kingdom, seems to animate many. I have desired to take a lesson out of such a book, and to be more divested of self-indulgence. I find that my "Essays" in German, translated by the late Professor Blumhardt, have been pretty largely circulated. There is still, however, a stock in hand, and our friend Hoffman has undertaken to make some arrangement for their further distribution.

Carlsruhe, 8th mo., 16th.

I trust we are rightly here on our way to Stutgard, though it has been somewhat painful to me to leave the Rhine this afternoon, which would so easily have borne us so far and so rapidly homewards. Left it, however, we have, for a week's *détour*, in the belief that a visit to Stutgard forms part of our duty; though we are more than usually ignorant what service may await us there, or whether any. We have endeavoured, not without fervent prayer, to commit our way to the Lord, so that we may humbly confide that he is still condescending to guide us. We may reverently acknowledge that he has remarkably opened our way since I last wrote. We left Basle about noon on second day, the 14th, and took the railroad at "St." Louis. Our journey was

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quiet and easy, though the weather was very hot; and we arrived at the handsome old city of Strasburg, containing 70,000 inhabitants, about five o'clock. The tall, taper, and elegant cathedral was seen towering aloft, long before we reached the city. Late in the evening we received kind calls from the *Pasteur* Haerter, and Professor Cuvier, of the *Academie*. They are both pious men of an excellent, liberal spirit. Cuvier is a friend of William Allen's, and a relation of the late celebrated naturalist; and we felt much united to him in spirit.

In the morning Josiah Forster and I drove out to Neuhoff; an establishment for the instruction and education (the French make a vital distinction between the two things—the giving of knowledge, and the training of character) of orphans and other destitute children, about sixty-five, under the care of Becker, who was absent; but we were kindly received by two young men, and were well pleased with the cleanliness, civility, and cleverness of the children. They are well clad, well fed, well taught, and, we trust, well educated; and when old enough, placed out in trades, which they learn at the school. The pleasant opportunity we had with them, after dinner, reminded me of olden times at Ackworth.

In the afternoon I called on Sir George Shee, our Minister at Stutgard, then in the hotel; who gave me a kind reception, and an excellent account of the religious freedom, the well balanced monarchy, well working constitution, good government, and generally happy condition of the kingdom of Würtemberg. Yet it is small, (1,700,000 inhabitants,) without rivers, without much commerce, and the land poor.

In the evening *Pasteur* Haerter conducted us to the Oratoire, which was well filled with an excellent congregation, who, I found, expected an account of the West Indies. This corresponded with my original feeling, and I had no difficulty in complying with the wish; but after speaking on this subject about twenty minutes, I found my heart and soul turned to more serious subjects, and had to dwell largely on the character and offices of the Great Liberator of the human race—"The Lord our

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Righteousness." I had to unfold the wondrous significance of this name. His divine as well as human character. His righteousness imputed to us through faith, and in virtue of his obedience unto death, even the death of the cross; and imparted to us by his living power, by the gift and influence of His Holy Spirit. Almost as soon as I sat down, my dear wife spoke to my great comfort, showing that there is no standing still in religion, and pressing the necessity of consistency, devotion, advancement. Josiah Forster added some sentences of lively exhortation, and I was enabled to conclude the meeting in fervent prayer, in which *France* was not forgotten. Thus was the way opened, without even a day's delay, for very relieving service at Strasburg: in fact, I suppose for concluding (for the present year at least) our service in France.

Strasburg is a fortified town, with an arsenal which is said to contain arms for 300,000 men. No sooner do we enter upon the German states, than we find soldiers, who, in case of a conflict, would doubtless be ranged with the forces of the larger powers on either side. Dreadful would the conflict be, should it ever come.

Stutgard, 8th mo., 19th.

Yesterday morning Josiah Forster and I, under an almost burning sun, threaded the streets of this agreeable little metropolis, (40,000 inhabitants,) and made calls on the sister and brother's wife of our dear friend Dr. Steinkopff, and on Stoffaker, an agreeable pastor, talking only German. Heering, the "Christliche Kauffman" to whom we were strongly recommended, is absent. In the afternoon we drove (an hour and a half) to Kornthal, *the valley of corn*; a well cultivated district, partly redeemed from the waste and from the forest; inhabited by a colony of 800 people, under the surveillance of Hoffman, the father of our friend at Basle, and the father, truly, of the colony. All the children call him "*Groispapa.*" This colony was established twenty-four years ago, by permission of the present King, to avoid their emigrating. This they were about to do because they could not conscientiously submit to a heterodox liturgy which had been

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introduced. This liturgy has again been reformed; but these Christian people adhere to their Kornthal, and prosper in it. They appeared to us contented, industrious, and happy; temperate in their habits, and for the most part religious.

The children of the colony are well educated, and there is a large seminary in the place for 120 girls, from various parts; a well regulated Christian boarding school; also a refuge for destitute little children. An excellent spirit pervades, and has long pervaded, this Christian community. The now aged Hoffman, and his simple-hearted wife, gave us a cordial reception; regaled us with milk, and bread and butter; and summoned the people to an evening meeting in the chapel. Including the boys and girls, there were a few hundreds present; many labouring men, notwithstanding the harvest. After successive failures on the part of two men; one of the girls (from India) interpreted for me, while I unfolded the precious doctrines contained in the first few verses of Psa. ciii. Josiah Forster addressed them well in German, and prayer (still interpreted by the girl, who was really helped for her service) concluded the meeting. But O, the obstructions of a foreign tongue!

This morning, after a pleasant call from Hoffaker and other Christian friends, we drove to Ludwigsburg, about three leagues, a pretty clean town, where the king has a second palace, and where there is a vast prison containing 900 male criminals. These are confined for terms not exceeding six years. There is now a separate prison elsewhere for women, and another for longer terms of imprisonment and for life; the latter seems to be a common sentence, and one which, from its hopelessness, cannot fail to lead to a deterioration of character. Capital punishment is still executed for murder: one or two cases in the year. The whole number of prisoners in the state, 1700; one for every 1000 of the whole population. I suppose this to be about the usual proportion. In this country which has no outlets, no colonies, the only possible stowage of criminals is in prisons; of which more are building; for crime seems to increase. The number of re-commitments at Ludwigsburg is very great. Klett, the truly Christian director, tells us that

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they have been almost all re-committed, from this or other prisons, and some, four times. Yet we were pleased with the order, cleanliness, and Christian care to be found at Ludwigsburg. We had several rather comforting religious opportunities in the different wards; Josiah Forster well and kindly interpreting for us. The prisoners were very attentive, and some of them showed unaffected sorrow. Instances of reformation occasionally take place. Our sister Fry's visit to this prison is gratefully remembered. * * *

8th mo., 22nd. This afternoon our friend Koster called to inform us that we were to visit the King and Queen at the country palace of Rosenstein at six o'clock; a remarkable opening after all our delays and doubts. A pleasant drive through the beautiful pleasure-grounds brought us to the palace at six o'clock; and we were soon introduced into the drawing-room, where a glittering company of courtiers rather puzzled us, for we knew not which was the King. At last we were ushered into a balcony overlooking the garden, river, &c., where we soon found that we were with the King, the Queen, the Crown Prince, the two unmarried Princesses, &c. We spoke to them in French and English, on the slave trade, the abolition of slavery in our colonies, and prison discipline; Ludwigsburg; the cellular system; the Eastern Penitentiary at Philadelphia; and above all, the importance of promoting Christian instruction at the University of Tübingen and in the schools. The King spoke of the late change for the better in Tübingen, by the introduction of orthodox professors, and seemed much interested in the subject. My dear wife then proposed to the Queen our sitting down in silence with the family, which was immediately assented to. I was led to address them in French, explaining the object of our journey, and our lively interest in their family, as well as in the people over whom the King reigned; dwelling on Christianity as the only true means of making man happy, and expressing our desire that divine grace, even the good Spirit of the Lord, might be bestowed upon them all, to qualify them for the fulfilment of their great responsibilities, and to prepare them for a blessed eternity. My

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dear wife afterwards knelt down in fervent supplication. At the conclusion the King rose, and shook hands warmly with us, expressing his thanks for the visit. We also exchanged kind greetings with the Queen and her son and daughters. I left my book on the West Indies with the King, and the Essay on Love to God with the Queen. Thus ended our long felt concern towards this royal family; the interview was short, but we humbly trust that the impression left is a good one, and that He who led into the service will bless it.

Having arrived at Brussels, Joseph John Gurney writes:—

First day afternoon, 8th mo., 27th. In the course of seventh day, we made, or renewed, several agreeable acquaintances. Amongst them, Panchaud, a pious French Independent minister, who has raised a little congregation, chiefly from the Roman Catholics; and Tiddy, the agreeable and active agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, whose colporteurs are doing great things in this dark, dark land. This scriptural distribution has given rise to an extraordinary awakening among many, including even several priests; and the consequence, or at least the accompaniment, has been the establishment of several evangelical missionary stations, and several hopeful schools. The work, by all accounts, continues to make favourable progress; and it is greatly facilitated by the entire religious freedom which is enjoyed, by virtue of the charter granted on the accession of the present King.

In the meantime, Popery is active, domineering and showy, in a very high degree. A grand procession, in honour of their idol "Mary," took place lately. The "Queen of Heaven" was crowned by the Archbishop; the Queen of the Belgians gave a jewel of value for the crown; and the semi-protestant King added the sanction of his attendance. All this is sad and weak; but will probably defeat its own ends. In the evening we received a visit from my old friend, Grimshawe, (the author of the

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life of Legh Richmond,) and his daughters; also from the Baron du Bois de Ferrieres, a superior person every way; once a Roman Catholic, now a zealous Protestant, and President of the Evangelical Society here. He married an English lady, whose two female cousins live with her, and are eminent here for untiring good doing. Our evening was very pleasant; and Brussels turned out, so far, a bright point at the conclusion of our mission. That the mission might end well was my earnest prayer, vocally expressed this morning in our quiet little meeting. A meeting is appointed to be held this evening, in the *salle* below. I feel the weight of the engagement, and write these lines under that peculiar sense of lowness which generally precedes such occasions. May the Lord graciously condescend to be with us, with his own holy and blessed anointing! We look hopefully, and even joyfully forward, to an early flight homeward to-morrow morning.

Calais, 8th mo., 29th.

The lowness and flatness which I felt last first day afternoon, at Brussels, proved to be the preparation for a favoured meeting. In the evening, at half-past seven, or nearly eight o'clock, the large *salle* of the hotel became completely filled with a very respectable company; among others, Panchaud and his wife, Boucher, Grimshawe, Count Arrivabene, &c. After a time of silence, and a few introductory sentences from Josiah Forster, I preached the gospel, I trust, in its fulness, from Isaiah lxi, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me," &c.,—adverting to the anointing of Christ after his baptism in Jordan; his divine and prophetical character, and his gracious offices as unfolded in this passage; the binding up of the broken heart; the liberation of the captives, &c. I dwelt particularly on liberation from the yoke of ceremonies; from the condemnation of the law; from the power and influence of sin; then the consolation which is not to be anticipated before a thorough cleansing, but which follows it; beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, &c. I spoke in French for the last time, I trust, for the present, and the gift of clearness and fluency was graciously bestowed. Prayer also flowed, to my own comfort,

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towards the close of the meeting, which Josiah Forster ended with a Christian farewell.

The feeling of relief after this meeting was great, and the next morning, yesterday, I felt quite at ease; happy and peaceful; ready to go home—an experience which was, I believe, shared by all our little party.

Here, in quietness and seclusion from the world, we can rest for a few hours; take a calm and thoughtful retrospect of the deeply interesting journey which is now brought so near to its close; and hopefully commit ourselves for the future, to that gracious and holy Being, who has hitherto helped us, and who will, as we humbly trust, help us to the end.

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CHAPTER XLII.

1843—1844. ÆT. 56.

TOTAL ABSTINENCE MEETING AT NORWICH; MARRIAGE OF HIS DAUGHTER; PUBLICATION OF HIS LAST WORK, THOUGHTS ON HABIT AND DISCIPLINE; JOURNEY IN FRANCE; BOULOGNE; ROUEN; PARIS; ORLEANS; TOURS; METTRAY; SAUMUR; NANTES; LA ROCHELLE; BORDEAUX; ST. FOY; NERAC; PAU.

Once more settled at Earlham, Joseph John Gurney writes:—

9th mo., 5th. Great peace, and even joy, are our portion on returning to our beloved home; and I cannot describe the quiet happiness which has been permitted us this morning, as we have roamed about the pleasure grounds. Bless the Lord, O my soul! may, indeed be the language of each heart amongst us! How can we forget his benefits, which are renewed every morning? Health of body and peace of mind are the precious gifts now graciously bestowed, and bestowed on those who deserve them not; at least, I am sure that this is the case with myself.

9th mo. 9th. On fifth day evening, my dear wife and I attended the Great "Teetotal" Meeting, held at Norwich, on the arrival of "Father" Mathew; and, at the bishop's earnest request, I took the chair, in the declared character of a *pledged teetotaller*.* I spoke fully, but carefully, on the subject; and the bishop afterwards, extremely well. "Father" Mathew is a very pleasing, and, as I fully believe, a very upright man; winning his way by his kind-

* Joseph John Gurney signed the total abstinence pledge at the house of his friend Richard Dykes Alexander, at Ipswich, on the 8th of the 4th month, 1843.

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ness and sincerity. I cannot doubt his being an instrument, in the divine hand, for extensive usefulness.

I look back on my own part in this matter, with calmness and content; and for the true freedom of total abstinence, for the comfortable health and good animal spirits which go along with it, I am truly and increasingly thankful.

10*th mo.*, 3*rd*. Last week passed off very satisfactorily. The Bible Society Meeting, on fourth day, was excellent, after a very comfortable and uniting breakfast party, at Earlham. The meeting itself was not large, the weather being unfavourable; but much better attended by the clergy than that of last year. I felt helped in speaking on the state of the Continent; dividing the population, not utterly careless of such things, into three great classes; those who take away from Scripture; those who add to it; and those who desire to adhere to its contents, without either diminution or addition.* There was much of love and harmony prevailing. In the evening we had a comfortable meeting of ministers and elders, R. and P. Alsop being with us, and returning with us to Earlham, which they have since pleasantly made their home during the progress of their family visit to our meeting. The Quarterly Meeting was well attended, and very satisfactory; Robert Alsop was well engaged in the meeting for worship; and his wife in prayer. Afterwards, at a joint conference my dear wife and I made a report of our continental journey, retaining our certificate. There was a good feeling over us all. At the close of a quiet meeting for business, I was bowed before our gracious Lord, in vocal prayer.

10*th mo.*, 9*th*. * * * On sixth day we had about fifty of our Norwich Friends here, with the Alsops. It was a scene of quiet, but heartfelt enjoyment. We were favoured with a very refreshing religious opportunity round the table in the dining-room before the company broke up. Yesterday evening, also, we had a party of those who had been left out; and we felt peace and pleasure in entertaining some humble Christians.

* Joseph John Gurney's speech on this occasion was afterwards published in a separate form.

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The approaching marriage of his beloved daughter was an event to which he now looked forward with deep interest.

10*th mo.*, 16*th*. [After one of his frequent affectionate allusions to his wife.]—My other nearest earthly dependencies appear much in the way of being dislocated. Such a term seems to apply to dearest Anna's approaching removal to a distance, although under such happy and desirable circumstances; and my sister Fry's prolonged and deep illness is to me a truly affecting dispensation. She calls for our tenderest sympathy. Yet can we rejoice in the support and quietness of soul so graciously bestowed upon her.

10*th mo.*, 25*th*. After our comfortable family reading this morning, I expressed my desire that, in the view of the approaching event so deeply interesting to us all, we might be enabled to dwell near to the Fountain of light and life; and to move and live under the influence of that grace which can alone qualify for every duty, sanctify all the pleasures of life, and enable us rightly to bear its pains. We are favoured with the feeling of much quietness in the prospect; somewhat of a satisfying sense, that all is right. * * *

Dear Anna's school children have just been crowding the hall to receive new bonnets, on the occasion of her marriage. Her labours of love for their benefit have been great and persevering; and I think it evident, from their demeanour, that she has not laboured in vain. Truly she will carry the blessing of many along with her.

On the 8th of the 11th mo., his daughter was married to John Church Backhouse, of Blackwell, near Darlington. He afterwards writes:—

11*th mo.*, 13*th*. Surely we cannot review the past week without a feeling of reverent gratitude, adoration, and praise; for the God of all grace has dealt mercifully with us.

The marriage took place on fourth day the 8th; the meeting

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house in Goat lane thronged. After our large company was seated, a good silence spread over us, and supplication fell to my lot under feelings of great solemnity; after which the pair spoke well; dear H. C. Backhouse prayed for a blessing on their covenant; then William Forster, who has been our sympathizing and able helper throughout, was excellently engaged on the fear of God. We returned home in peace, and sat down to the marriage feast, about fifty-five in number. Before leaving the table we were favoured with a memorable opportunity. It was, indeed, a most happy day; but I shed some tears of heartfelt grief, when I had fairly lost my child.

11*th mo.*, 20*th*. Should the way open for my retiring entirely from the cares of business, I should be truly thankful. The prospect of such a possibility brings great tranquillity over me. I do wish, with all simplicity, to devote myself to the service of my Lord; and to quiet, heart-searching preparation for an awful and unseen, yet I humbly trust, happy futurity. "Gather up thy wares out of the land, O thou inhabitant of the fortress!" We have truly gratifying and satisfying accounts of our darling married child. This is another call for humble gratitude.

12*th mo.*, 6*th*. On third day morning, in last week, my dearest wife and I set off for Upton. We continued there until the following second day morning; and a highly interesting time we had. Our principal object was to visit our dearest sister Fry. With her we had many precious interviews, and low as she has been brought, and sometimes closely tried, we were cheered with a pretty firm hope of her partial recovery.

On sixth day I was much interested in attending the "Meeting for Sufferings;" at the close of which I was engaged in fervent prayer for William Allen; whose life is, to all appearance, gradually, but rather rapidly, drawing to its close. First day was one of uncommon exercise, to the relief of our minds. A solemn meeting at Plaistow in the morning. In the afternoon to Tottenham meeting, which was sweet and solemn. My exercise of mind, that all might truly come by the door into the sheepfold, was responded to by Maria Fox in a truly touching prayer. After

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calling on Ann Hodgkin, for whom we felt much in the absence of her devoted husband, we took tea with Josiah and Rachel Forster, to our mutual pleasure and comfort. Then to the Barclays, where we met a large family circle of young people, to whom I was led to unfold the great principles which we profess as a Society, with some degree, I trust, of clearness and life; we returned late to Upton in peace, and home on second day.

TO ————

Earlham, 12th mo., 8th, 1843.

I send thee by post a little tract on Baptism, written by William Dell, an old Cambridge divine, who lived shortly before the rise of Friends. I have just received a few copies, and have been so much interested in the perusal of one of them, that I thought I might, in the freedom of friendship, send it to thee, marked as it is by my own pencil. It was the means of clearing the views of a clergyman near Holt, in Norfolk, and the consequence was that he gave up his preferment and retired from the Church of England. The contents are, I think, well worthy of quiet and deep consideration.

TO HIS SISTER ELIZABETH FRY.

Blackwell, 1st mo., 5th, 1844.

I think thou wilt be enabled to rejoice with us in the peace and happiness we are now enjoying under our dear son and daughter's roof. Their settlement is most comfortable and satisfactory, and this is a lovely spot indeed. The views from the terrace of the Tees in its peaceful meanderings are quite charming, and the house is very pleasant and convenient. It is a favoured allotment for our dearest Anna; and *we* find it a delightful retreat and resting place.

From his Journal:—

On second day, (1st mo., 22nd,) I concluded (against the apparent laws both of prudence and comfort,) to go, but without my dearest wife, to London, in order to attend the funeral of our

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late lamented friend Maria Fox, of Tottenham. This act of faith and obedience was rewarded as well as justified by the events of the week. It was, indeed, a memorable time; the funeral large, and peculiarly weighty and solemn. I found a decidedly open door for service in ministry, on the "day of mourning for Jerusalem;" also in prayer near the grave; sweet visit to J. and A. Hodgkin, and a large company, and truly solemn occasion at S. Fox's in the evening. * * *

[Returned home] on seventh day after a very sweet, and to me consoling, interview with my dearest sister Fry.

2nd mo., 19*th*. Yesterday, the ——— family here to tea and supper; I was peacefully reminded of the words, "They cannot recompense thee, but thou shalt be recompensed at the resurrection of the just."

My mind has been somewhat anxious on the question—whether I ought to subscribe to the Anti-Corn-Law League. The principles of free trade are certainly good, Christian principles; and if they are promoted on Christian grounds, and in a right manner, it seems to be a branch of politics in which it may be not only lawful, but right, to take a reasonable share. Yet evil must not be done that good may come; and, at present, I doubt the working of the machine.

2nd mo., 26*th*. Another week has flown away, and finds us in possession of many rich blessings. After some indisposition, I am better again; the accounts of our dearest sister have been considerably alleviated; and now we are cheered and comforted by the presence amongst us, once more, of our darling child and her husband, from Blackwell, who arrived safe and well on seventh day; and great is our happiness in being together. Our Sabbath yesterday has left a peaceful and salutary impression. I was much engaged in the morning meeting, in ministering on the words—"Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life." Fidelity in rightly filling up our measure and sphere of influence, in the right direction, fully and perseveringly; to be effected only by *thorough* submission to the operation of divine power.

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In the spring of this year, was published the last, but not the least useful, of Joseph John Gurney's more extended writings—Thoughts on Habit and Discipline. The subject had been long before his mind. For many years his life had been a continued endeavour after the subjection of his own mind and heart to the highest moral and religious discipline; and if, especially on such a subject, example and experience must ever give weight to precept, the reader who now turns to this little volume, will not peruse it with the less interest or instruction, as he marks the course through which its author became, by grace, what he was.

To write a useful, rather than a profound or learned work, was his principal aim.

"Amidst many more serious avocations," to use his own words in the preface, "the composition of the present work has been the pleasant occupation of occasional leisure hours. Little as it is laboured, and capable as it is of much improvement, I am induced to publish it, in the hope that it may be of *some* use to the lately risen, and now rising generation.

"It consists of three divisions. The FIRST contains general remarks on the nature and operation of Habit and Discipline. It is the philosophy of the subject, though in a low sense of the term, and in a very familiar guise. The SECOND relates to BAD HABIT, that grand instrument in the hand of Satan, for enslaving enchaining, and finally destroying mankind. The THIRD, to GOOD HABIT, which is the appointed means, under the natural and moral government of God, and in connexion with a providential scheme of DISCIPLINE, for our improvement in ability, knowledge, wisdom, and virtue.

"GOOD HABIT is considered in its application, FIRST, to the movements and uses of the body; SECONDLY to art, that useful result of the joint exercise of body and mind; THIRDLY, to intellectual capacities and pursuits; FOURTHLY, to morals; and FIFTHLY, to religion.

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"Heartily do I desire that those who are now in the early vigour of their bodily and mental powers, may become subject in all things, to the salutary power of GOOD HABIT. Under the influence of the Holy Spirit, which can alone change and sanctify the heart of man, they will find in the friendly sway of this 'magistrate of man's life,' this genial nurse and mistress of our faculties, a preparation for all that is useful and honourable in time, and for all that is pure and joyous in eternity."

The work has been frequently reprinted and widely circulated, and has been introduced, as it deserves, into several important educational establishments. May its circulation and perusal be blessed more and more!

Being now desirous of completing his labours on the Continent, Joseph John Gurney in the spring of this year, again left England, in company with his wife and their valued friend Josiah Forster. Their journey southward extended as far as Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Pau. They returned to England in the fifth month to attend the Yearly Meeting, and afterwards concluded their engagements by a visit to the Channel Islands. The particulars of this journey are detailed in a series of letters to his daughter, from which the following extracts are taken:—

Abbeville, 5th day evening, 3rd mo., 21st, 1844.

MY DEAREST ANNA,

Blustering was the wind and snow-capped the waves, when we got on board the "Ramsgate" steamer at Folkstone, yesterday morning, for our voyage to Boulogne; and finely tossed were we on the passage. The sea was what the sailors call lumpy, the waves being at times prodigious, and our boat seemed to labour very hard to get along.

After four hours and nearly a half, we all felt it a favour, as well as a relief, to make the quiet harbour of Boulogne in safety. In the evening we met forty or fifty pious people in the Wesleyan

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chapel; and the deep stillness of the meeting afforded a salutary and agreeable contrast to the bellowing and dashing of the ocean, which had half overpowered us in the morning. Josiah Forster said a few words to explain our views; and, after a period of profound quietness, I was enabled to preach from Col. i:—"Giving thanks unto the Father, who hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light," &c. The view arose vividly before me of the nature and character of that inheritance, and of that radical change of heart, and sanctifying work of the Spirit, in which alone our meetness for it can consist. The meeting ended in much solemnity, after vocal prayer. Lyon, the pious, agreeable minister, afterwards told me, that he was engaged in a course of lectures on this same Epistle, and that he had intended on that evening, to address the people on *the very text* which I had preached from—having come just so far in the Epistle. He seemed delighted at the coincidence, which I thought was best explained by our good old view of the guidance of the Spirit. He breakfasted with us this morning, and we parted from him in the feeling of Christian love.

We are all well and comfortable to-day. We left Boulogne about ten o'clock; enjoyed our journey; read the Bible, French Testament, Thomas Shillitoe's Journal, and Life of Adam Clark; and distributed many tracts *en passant*. * * *

Rouen, First day, 3rd mo., 24th.

We arrived here in time for a late evening dinner, and spent most of yesterday in making the needful arrangements for our meeting to-day. In the afternoon, Josiah Forster and I drove about two miles to *le petit Quevilly*, where a gentleman and lady named Lecointe have opened, on their own beautifully situated and wooded estate, a refuge for young criminals, of whom they have now twenty-four under their care, who are sent to them, instead of to the prison of the department, by order of the government. I believe Lecointe purchased the estate lately, (about 50 acres,) for the purpose. He is *philanthrope philosophe* (they say) rather than *Chrétien*, but seems very amiable and much devoted

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to his object. There is no barring and bolting here. The gates are open, and the boys can escape if they choose; but they usually remain for their appointed time on parole, and seem happily engaged in gardening, cutting down wood, carpentering, and other healthy employments. A good school is kept for them every afternoon, where they seem to be well taught. They looked truly civilized; read well to us, and listened to our French addresses during their supper with much propriety. There is a fine old Norman chapel on the premises, where they meet for worship; their religious instruction being under the care of a Roman Catholic chaplain. On the whole it was to me the most agreeable institution of the kind I have seen; yet wanting in the grand fundamental article of sound Christian influence and example. The Government pays a considerable part of the expense, the rest is provided for by a *Société de Patronage*.

Paris, 3rd mo., 27th.

I wrote to thee last from Rouen, on first day, after our quiet little morning meeting. At three o'clock in the afternoon, Josiah Forster and I repaired to the workshops (connected with the railroad) of Buddicomb, Allcard, and Co., at Chartreux, where, in a large room, we held a good open meeting, with about 200 of the English workmen, wives, and children. It was to me a time of close exercise and close ministry. The habits which these poor fellows very generally fall into, of drinking French brandy to excess, and of other dissipation, have done much to deteriorate their moral condition. They listened with much attention, and behaved quietly.

We returned to our hotel to dinner, and at seven o'clock went to the Protestant "Temple," which is a fine old Gothic building, formerly Roman Catholic, and almost like a cathedral. Josiah Forster and I looked singular enough there, sitting with our hats on, on two chairs in front of the pulpit, which would not hold us both. We found ourselves surrounded by a considerable congregation, and truly I deeply felt the weight and responsibility of our circumstances. Josiah Forster's introductory sentences were

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much to the point, and after some time of silence, I was enabled to address them for about an hour in French, from the 1st of Hebrews; the comparative claims of the law and the gospel; the divinity of Him by whom the latter is administered; and the necessity of looking to Him *alone* in the course of Christian experience, as the one appointed and all-sufficient Mediator. The meeting closed peacefully after prayer; and much satisfaction was expressed by Paumier, the minister, and many others. Thus our day ended well. The next morning Paumier breakfasted with us. We felt much indebted to him for his cordial help, and left a subscription for his Protestant school, which our donations in 1817 appear to have been the means of founding, or at least of greatly improving. I well remember then visiting him with thy uncles, Buxton, Cunningham, and Gurney; and, as far as I could perceive, he is much unaltered, after a lapse of twenty-seven years.

We left Rouen by the railroad on second day, with the impression that there is a true work of grace going forward in that city and its vicinity.

Here (at Paris) the way for some important service seems to be opening upon us, and our friends are as kind as ever. I spent about an hour yesterday with the Pelets; the two Countesses full of warmth and love, and the Count kind and polite as usual. La Baronne de Staël has also called, and is engaged to come and see thy mother again to-day. We are engaged to meet her at dinner at the Duc de Broglie's, on seventh day, and to dine at the Pelet's on second day next week. John Scoble and Geo. W. Alexander, from the Anti-Slavery Society, are in this hotel. The former has been writing an excellent *brochure* on the *Rapport de la Commission Royale sur l'Esclavage*, which is to be translated and published. We have agreed to hold an Anti-Slavery meeting in the great *salle à manger*, on sixth day evening, and are engaged to-day in arranging our invitations. I wish we may get a full meeting, and be enabled to do the great cause some justice.

To-morrow we propose to hold our week-day meeting at the old place, and a public one in the evening at the Methodist Chapel.

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First day is likely to be full of similar engagements. The weight of these concerns has been felt to be heavy, especially during the hours of infirmity which so often fall to my lot at night; but there is a feeling through all of much peace, and we may, I trust, say with Paul, "If God be for us, who can be against us?"

When we were here last year, the Protestants were much alarmed by the obvious and close union of the Government with the Roman Catholic Church. Now the tables are somewhat turned; for a warm controversy has arisen between the Bishops and the Government, on the subject of education; which is at present under the direction of the University of Paris, subject to the still higher authority of the Government, through its Minister of Public Instruction. The clergy, under the pretence of liberty, are wanting to get the whole affair into their own hands; and are loudly calling for the abolition of this authority in the University. In this they are joined by many pious Protestants, who cling to the principle of entire freedom of education. The clergy are said to have even threatened the Government with excommunication, and it is difficult to conjecture what will be the issue.

Paris, 4th mo., 4th, 1844.

* * * We had an interview with the Duchess of Orleans, by appointment, yesterday morning. She received us alone at the Tuileries in the kindest and most open manner, and interested us all very deeply. She is simple, refined, unaffected, and warm hearted; of a slender frame, and sweet, pleasing countenance. She spoke very affectionately of thy aunt Fry, and after some easy, friendly conversation, thy mother proposed silence, which was immediately complied with. Soon afterwards she addressed the Duchess (who speaks and understands English well) with remarkable force and clearness; expressing the deep and tender sympathy which she had felt for her before leaving England, citing various passages of Scripture relating to those sudden and terrible afflictions which are sometimes permitted, and contrasting them with other passages expressive of the rich and abundant consolations of the gospel; declaring her belief, that, should further

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troubles assail her, she would be supported and comforted; quoting the 20th Psalm, "The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble," &c., and that her prayers for herself and her children were and would be answered. The scene was truly touching. I afterwards intimated that I felt led into prayer, on which the Duchess rose and shut an open door, and then quietly knelt down beside me, while I poured forth a heartfelt prayer for herself and the young Princes. Josiah Forster afterwards exhorted her to faithfulness in the maintenance of her own Christian principles, and of her covenant with her God. It was a precious meeting, one not soon to be forgotten. A very different one, but also memorable, was with Odillon Barrot, whom Josiah Forster and I visited in his cabinet. He has lost his only daughter, and his noble countenance seemed marred with grief. I asked for silence, and ministered to him in some degree of life I trust. He thanked me heartily. The Countess Pelet had sent him a letter of sympathy and religious exhortation, with the New Testament that very morning. What a fine thing it would be, were he to become truly subject to the yoke of Christ!

* * * * * *

Our *réunions*, public and private, have been of an interesting character. First, last fifth day evening, at the Wesleyan chapel, with a handful of English, solemn and sweet. Secondly, the same evening, at Pressensé's, a large religious company, to whom both Josiah Forster and I had shortly to minister. Thirdly, the anti-slavery meeting in the great *salle à manger* of this hotel, last sixth day, about seventy people, including three Roman Catholic abbés, two Protestant pastors, &c. It was a highly interesting evening. I spoke for an hour in French, without difficulty, on the grand Christian principle which lies at the foundation of the subject; on the safety of immediate emancipation, in its physical, moral, and religious effects on the negroes; on the comparative non-importance of the mere sugar question; and on the favourable accounts lately received, even on that subordinate point. Scoble spoke well in English, on indemnity and other points, which I had left; and we did not conclude until near eleven. Lastly, on

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third day we had a pretty large number of young students of the University, from Greece, Moldavia, Guadaloupe, Martinique, Senegal, &c. They gave severally, lively accounts of their respective countries. The young Moldavians who came to Paris with their slaves, were especially interesting; and were well inoculated with anti-slavery principles. Their slaves were set free on touching French ground.

Tours, 4th mo., 10th, 1844.

Nearly a week has elapsed since I despatched my last Journal, and how am I to record all the events, great and little, of this interval? I wish I may not quite fail in the attempt, for time for writing is an article not at my command. But to revert to last week, I wrote to thee, on fifth day morning, just before our concluding little meeting at the *Faubourg du Roule*. At five o'clock, Josiah Forster and I repaired to the office of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, where we saw Guizot, and conversed with him some ten or fifteen minutes. He was very kind to us, and detailed the particulars of the intended measure to be introduced in the present session, not *for* but *towards* the abolition of slavery. It does not amount to much, but may nevertheless be accepted as a first step; it being clearly understood that the Government regards it only in that light. In the evening of the day now described, a large company of our serious friends assembled at our hotel; the Count Pelet and his mother, the Baron Mallet, Charles Mallet, and his sister, Cuvier (Lutheran minister) and his wife, La Baronne de Staël and her brother the Duc de Broglie, Mark Vernet, *Pasteurs* Vermeil, Frederick Monod, and Grandpierre, with their wives, the five young missionaries, under the care of the last, General Menardier, Mark Wilks, and many others, including the Countess of Roden and her daughter; about sixty in all, or somewhat more. It was a happy evening. After much conversation, we read Eph. iv, "I, therefore, the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy," &c. After the reading, I had to address them at some length on charity and unity, and on some great objects which Christians can pursue, and ought to pursue together, without distinction of sect or party; namely,

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the abolition of slavery, the distribution of the Holy Scriptures, and the promotion of peace; observing also that all would be in vain, without the life and power of religion. Josiah Forster afterwards spoke of the actual state of Paris, its sins and its hopes. There seemed to be a flow of love and friendship towards and amongst us, when the company separated.

The next morning (sixth day) we were quite free in mind and circumstances for leaving Paris; and, having taken our seats in a comfortable carriage, or rather apartment, were rolled off at a great rate on the railway for Orleans; passing through a pleasant, well-cultivated country, partly near the banks of the Seine, producing more of grass and corn, than of the vine. We arrived at Orleans, a fine old city of some 40,000 inhabitants, at four o'clock; and were met at the station by our warm-hearted friend, the Protestant *Pasteur* Duchemin. At seven o'clock in the evening we repaired to the Oratoire, where a good meeting was held with about 150 persons. I trust the unction which can alone prepare for such service was not withheld. The next morning Josiah Forster and I breakfasted with Duchemin and his wife and children, with whom we had a comforting family sitting. Afterwards my dear wife met us at the *Maison des Orphelines*, where nearly fifty orphan girls are boarded and educated by the Protestants. Rossolloty, the other *pasteur*, his wife, and others were present. We addressed the children, and distributed little books amongst them, and lively, indeed, was their reception of us and ours. We were reminded of the girls' school at Nismes.

The following first day was a memorable one. Josiah Forster and I went with Duchemin, after breakfast, about an hour's drive into the country, to Tournon, a little village, finely situated on the banks of the Loire. The day was delightfully fine, as the weather here has generally been, and the lovely river looked blue and beautiful. About 100 people, simple-hearted country folks, chiefly little proprietors, assembled by degrees in the Protestant "Temple," and as it was a high "Sacrament Sunday," our friend the *pasteur* took ample time for the performance of his own service. We sat quietly near the door until all was over, when Duchemin

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kindly introduced us to the people, and lively and relieving, indeed, was the short Friends' meeting which ensued. Many of the people seemed really touched, and all attentive and affectionate. A kind *charron* (wheelwright) invited us to dinner. We much liked the look of the country people; there seems to be little or no poverty either in town or country; and Duchemin thinks that the division of land among all the children, which is the law of France, works well in preventing pauperism. No person may leave more than a small proportion to the "church," and only a fourth to any public charity, unless he is childless.

In the evening we all three repaired to the Protestant "Temple," at Orleans, and were soon seated in the face of a congregation of about 200; with full liberty to pursue our own course. I preached for about an hour on the resurrection of Christ; and on Paul's doctrine, that being reconciled to God "by the death of his Son," much more "being reconciled, we are saved by his life." He lives to apply his precious blood to our heart and conscience. He is our Advocate with the Father. He quickens us by his Spirit. The meeting ended in the feeling of solemnity, and in the flowing of love.

On second day, the 8th, a somewhat dull and fatiguing journey, cheered, however, by the nearly constant view of the Loire, brought us to Blois, in about six hours. Edward Wakefield and his wife were waiting for us at the Hotel D'Angleterre, and very kind they were to us. We walked with them before dinner to view the castle, which is the scene of many historic recollections. Here Catherine of Medicis held her court. Here the Duke of Guise was murdered; and here we saw the *Oubliettes*, the deep places into which the wretched captives of olden times were thrown, from a height of ninety feet, on to knives, &c., that they might perish in the midst of torture. Such contrivances are to be seen elsewhere in the old castles of France.

Angers, 4th mo., 12th, 1844.

In the evening of second day, the 8th, we all went to Edward Wakefield's agreeable residence, overlooking the river, where, in pursuance of our wish, a large company of English were assembled,

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many from Norfolk, and some French people. I read Philippians ii and iii, and the company were afterwards plainly addressed, both in French and English. It was a pretty good meeting. Conformity to the world, and the necessity of the contrary, were subjects much before us.

Our drive to Tours, the next morning, was of four hours; very pleasant, excellent roads, through a fertile country, half corn and half vines, and by the side of the Loire, now a grand favourite. As we approached Tours we observed many houses, Petra-like, formed by excavation of the light sandstone rock, which towers over the river, though at such a distance as to make room for the road, and some garden grounds. Tours is a very handsome place, entered by a noble bridge over the Loire; which is, at least, as broad as the Thames, at London. The purity of its waters has been celebrated by De Sevigné. The cathedral towers over one of its banks. A long handsome street, the Rue Royale, intersected by others at right angles; and beautiful promenades on the side opposite to the river. After our arrival, yesterday, Josiah Forster and I spent the evening with a company chiefly English. The pious young Protestant minister, Morache, met us, and has kindly agreed to give us the use of his "Temple" for our meeting this evening, and to give notice of it to his friends.

Fourth day, the ninth, was one of lively interest. After breakfast Josiah Forster and I visited the Protestant shools, which were satisfactory. Afterwards we all three went in an open barouche, about four miles to Mettray, the famous agricultural colony for naughty boys; criminals who have escaped conviction, &c.; vagabonds transferred from La Roquêtte, the prison for the *Jeunes détenus* in Paris, and others.* There we were most kindly

* See an interesting account of the Reformatory Institution at Mettray, published by Whittaker, 1853 :—"The laws of France," says the writer, "permit the acquittal of children accused of crime, on the ground of their having *acted without discernment, (agi sans discernment;)* but they are retained under the guardianship of the State for a term of years, until they have been educated, trained in moral habits, and placed in situations in which they may earn their own livelihood by industrial labour. For the reception of children of this class M. de Metz devised and founded at Mettray the first Agricultural Colony."

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received by De Metz and Brettiniére, the two volunteer Directors, who showed us about for some hours. The plan is to substitute family arrangement for prison discipline; the whole society being divided into families of about forty each, occupying distinct, but nearly contiguous houses. Here they are fed, taught, lodged, and governed by a *Père de famille*, no women allowed, except the *Sœurs de Charité* in the hospital; (which I think a defect;) two *sous chefs*, and two *frères ainées*, or monitors, chosen by the other boys. They work in distinct shops, according to their respective trades; tailors, smiths, carpenters, &c., and in the gardens and fields. No punishments except dry bread and solitary confinement for a time. Nothing can exceed the happy order which appears to prevail. During the hours of recreation the *pères de famille*, *sous chefs*, monitors, and boys all gathered round us, with the directors, and several visitors; and we were favoured with a solemn meeting in the open air.

Brettiniere is a Roman Catholic, somewhat serious, and reads and explains the Scriptures to the boys. It is by far the best Institution of the kind I ever saw as to external order, comfort, industry, and effect. Yet one deeply feels that vital, enlightened Christianity, in the room of masses, &c., &c., is the thing wanted.

In the evening we went to our meeting; a fine congregation, chiefly French, including several Roman Catholics. I trust the best of influences was not withheld.

Yesterday morning, before we left Tours for Saumur, we visited the new prison on the *cellular* or solitary system. It was to me a highly interesting sight; very much resembling the Eastern Penitentiary in Philadelphia. I went to it with a feeling of dread, lest I should find it a scene of suffering. But this, with little exception, is not the case. It is admirably built and arranged, and we found the poor solitary ones generally comfortable. Several who had been in other prisons expressed their preference for their present isolation. They are here only for a year at the furthest; so that it is not solitude severe or hopeless.

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Forty-five miles along the beautiful Loire, brought us to Saumur, a delightful drive, *campagne riante*. Saumur is a fine old town, crowned by a noble castle. We arrived at five o'clock, and though the Pastor Duvivier was absent, we succeeded in obtaining a *réunion* of about thirty religious people at the Hotel de Londres, at eight in the evening; dear simple-hearted people, they reminded us of our friends at Congenies. We were favoured with a lively, solemn meeting; no reading; but a time of much tender feeling; I trust under that influence which is precious above all things. The office and operation of the Holy Spirit was the subject immediately before us. I had much pleasure in interpreting for my wife. This morning many of them came to bid us a hearty farewell. After a comforting, though short, private week-day meeting, we came to Angers, an interesting old town of 40,000 inhabitants.

Bordeaux, sixth day, 4th mo., 19th, 1844.

Most interesting has been the past week; and, on the whole, productive and satisfactory. I wrote last from Angers. A few scattered Protestants there have not zeal enough even to meet for divine worship, and Popery is dominant. Josiah Forster, in his morning walk, saw a curious specimen of idolatry. He was talking to a shopwoman at the door of her *magazin*, when she suddenly knelt down. A priest was passing by with a box containing the host, which he was carrying to an invalid. "*C'est le bon Dieu*," said she, and our dear friend's argument seemed to have but little effect in convincing her of the contrary.

At Nantes (a large town of about 85,000 inhabitants) we called on the Protestant Pastor Rapolet, whom we found living in a third story. He is apparently pious, intellectual, and interesting; gave us a cordial reception, though we had no introduction to him; and at once promised to lend his "temple" for our meeting, and to give full notice of it to his flock. We agreed to hold it on the following afternoon.

Our Sabbath day was fruitful. Our usual little meeting quiet and comfortable; afterwards a walk on the quay, which is fine, though the recollections of blood hang about this part of the

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Loire. It was the scene of the *noyards*, those wholesale murders by drowning, effected by the opening of a trap-door, by strings from the shore, in the boats which had been filled with the unhappy aristocrats, their wives and children. About 6000 people are said to have been destroyed here in this way, under the orders of Carrière, in 1793; probably the largest horror of the French revolution.

On our return we received a call from La Veuve Dolsée, a Protestant lady of wealth and influence, much devoted to the cause of religion; at half-past three to the meeting; which, after a discouraging appearance at first, soon became numerous, so that the deep exercise of mind, through which I had been passing, met with a fully corresponding result. I had to dwell on the great contrast between the terrors of the law and the blessings of the gospel, in Heb. xii. Many seemed affected; especially a French lady, the mother of six children, who ran after us in the street to ask us whether we should hold any more meetings. In the evening, a number of English, with a few French, resorted to the hotel, and we had a good reading and sitting with them. Books were distributed as usual, and Christian love flowed freely. Rapolet was with us again the next morning, and interested us much; he is a spiritually-minded man, of very delicate health.

Second day, the 15th. Short and easy journey to Bourbon Vendée, a town built in the centre of that district by Napoleon, for the purpose of securing its peaceable conduct. An idle place; erected by the will of man, and not in the order of nature and Providence. A few Protestants, with whom we conversed, seemed dull enough; not so a battalion of soldiers, who were most eager for our little Scripture extracts. These we gave in abundance, and determined applicants they were. I longed to preach the gospel to them, and to a certain extent was enabled to do so.

The journey to La Rochelle, of about forty miles, was pleasant and easy. This place, once the stronghold of Protestantism, suffered intensely from the wars of religion, early in the 17th century; the inhabitants being reduced from 30,000 to 17,000.

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It is now a trading port, and contains a respectable little body of Protestants, under the care of two ministers—Dalmes, Evangelical; Fau, Socinian. The former is talented and warmhearted, and we found that he had invited his friends for a *réunion* that evening at his own house. It was a crowded assembly; about 100, I should think; very much like our meetings at Stutgard. Much seriousness and attention prevailed. The next morning Dalmes and his interesting wife, with a lady who once lived as French governess with the Wilberforce family, her niece, husband, and another gentleman breakfasted with us. We left our books with them, and parted from them in much love.

On fourth day, the 17th, journey over a flat, marshy country, in sight of the sea; first to Rochefort, on the beautiful Charente, where there is a great naval arsenal and dock; afterwards to Saintes, the little capital of Saintonges, in the midst of a fruitful country, famous for Brandy. Our meeting was held at the Hotel de Ville, the "temple" being under repair; about 100 persons —one-third Roman Catholics, chiefly gentlemen. It was a deeply interesting occasion. I had felt a particular concern for the place, and spoke with more fluency than ever before, in French, on Isaiah ii. The people were very cordial, both Protestants and Roman Catholics. I had a sad coughing night afterwards; but a poor preparation for a long day's journey, on fifth day, from Saintes to Bordeaux, about seventy-seven miles; but the road is admirable. We stopped for an early dinner at Blaie, on the Gironde, where the Duchess of Berri was imprisoned after the Revolution of 1830; an old château renewed as a modern fortress. The Dordogne and Garonne unite within sight of Blaie, and form the Gironde. In going from Blaie to Bordeaux, (thirty miles,) we passed over the Dordogne, at Cubsac, by a new and magnificent suspension bridge; and over the Garonne, by the finest stone bridge in France, on entering Bordeaux. These several rivers are splendid. The Dordogne, at Cubsac, truly American; and the Garonne, at Bordeaux, magnificent indeed. We have appointed a public meeting in the Casino for to-morrow afternoon.

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Mirande, sixth day night, 4th mo., 26th, 1844.

Here we are on our route for Pau, within a short day's journey of it, and within sight of the snowy, rocky, peaked Pyrenees, to our no small satisfaction and pleasure. My last journal was despatched on seventh day, the 20th, from Bordeaux, and very full of interest has our life been since. After the usual time of suspense, and apparent doubt and difficulty, Bordeaux flourished like a garden of flowers. Our Sabbath there was peculiarly interesting Our little meeting in the morning was attended by a young friend named Rowntree, at Bordeaux for his health, in evident decline; also by an English family, who had received him as their inmate. It was a time of deep seriousness, and was, I trust, blessed to his soul. In the afternoon we repaired to the Casino, a large room which we had hired for our public meeting, having ventured to advertise it in the journals. We found a large promiscuous assembly ready to receive us. Peculiarly critical, though after much exercise of mind satisfactory and relieving was the meeting; many Roman Catholics present. I spoke on the prophecies respecting our Saviour, and the fulfilment of them as described in the New Testament; and on the divine authority of the whole Scripture; explaining and enforcing the necessity of a free and diligent perusal of it. Then showing that even this would not do, except we actually come to Christ, of whom the Scriptures testify—"Ye will not come unto me, that ye might have life." The impression made was evidently very considerable.

In the evening, after dinner, Josiah Forster and I repaired to the Protestant "temple," and in a *salle* adjoining it, met the *pasteur* Maillard and his flock, of about 150, chiefly women. He gave us a good opportunity of addressing them, and they seemed not a little warmed up on the occasion. The pastors here are rather high church; but they gradually melted down, and were all love and unity towards us before we parted. From the "temple" we went to the house of La Harpe, a pious gentleman, whose son, the brother of the minister and professor at Geneva, is the pastor of a small Independent congregation. The young man

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married Dr. Malan's daughter. We found him surrounded by about twenty-five or thirty persons, to whom he was ministering. Here, also, I found an open door for service. On second day morning we had much satisfaction in visiting the Protestant schools; boys and girls; about 100 each; on the British system, and in excellent order. We addressed the children, and left our subscription. We were attended by the Inspector of all the schools of the department, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, containing 56,000 children; himself a Protestant. Under his care the New Testament is freely used in all these schools. It must be allowed that the French are doing much in the way of primary schools; the government insisting on them, and the towns, &c., paying for them, and I have not yet seen one which was not in good order. The *measure* of education is also a little above us; at all events, above our Norwich Lancasterian schools.

In the evening we again repaired to the Casino, to tell the people my West Indian story. We found a large and genteel assembly, in the greatest order, about 400 or 500 people apparently. Nothing could exceed their willing attention. I was enabled to get through the service comfortably, so as to leave a strong impression against slavery, in this notoriously pro-slavery place; at the same time interweaving a few plain gospel truths for the benefit of the Roman Catholics. Warm and kind feeling seemed to follow this meeting. The *pasteur* Maillard and his daughter, with some others, accompanied us to the hotel. In the morning of third day, the 23rd, we received a call from an enlightened Roman Catholic, who had been at the meeting; and who was very full of information on mendicity, prison-discipline, colonies for the poor, and capital punishment; taking a correct and very philanthropic view of these several subjects. * * *

We were pleased enough, after all the real *baptism* that Bordeaux had cost us, to move out of the place in peace and safety; and a journey of about thirty-five miles, brought us along a pleasant, garden-like country to "St." Foy. In looking back on "St." Foy, I can only say, that the rapid development of our affairs there was marvellous. There is a large Protestant College

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in the town. The Director Pellis took up our cause, Martin soon joining him, and by eight o'clock in the evening, (we having not arrived until nearly four,) about 500 people were collected; half of them Roman Catholics. It was an excellent meeting; thirsty the soil, abundant the watering graciously permitted. I was led to a full declaration of the blessed gospel, and the congregation was remarkably hushed into silence before and after it. The next morning, after visiting the *Colonie Agricole*, we crossed the beautiful Dordogne in a boat, and saw the normal schools for girls, under the care of a lady named Dufruis; it seems a valuable institution. Thence to the college, where we found 100 young Protestants under tuition, from childhood to manhood. We held a favoured meeting with them, the Professors, and Director. I felt much drawn to the young people in the love of the gospel, and had much to say to them on the right method of studying the Scriptures; taking a view of the history, prophecies, doctrine, and precepts. Josiah Forster also addressed them at some length. Afterwards, I took the opportunity, (having the flower of Protestant France before me, for it is, I believe, the only institution of the kind,) to impress them with sound anti-slavery principles. Nothing could be more lively than their attention. After a satisfactory visit to a large boys' school, and a luncheon at the inn, we left the town, a crowd of our warm-hearted friends and others surrounding us as we took our leave. Certainly there seems to be an open door for Christian labours of love at "St." Foy; and the population in the surrounding district is said to be in a very awakened state, large numbers being in the practice of reading the Scriptures daily in their families. This remark applies chiefly to the Protestants, who are numerous; but the Roman Catholics are also, many of them, turning in a right direction. A drive of two hours through a flat, but pleasant and fertile country, brought us to Berjerac, a town of 6000 or 7000 inhabitants, where there are also many Protestants. The *pasteur* Strigue had appointed the meeting at his own house, where we met about fifty people in the evening. No Friends could have desired a greater degree of outward silence than prevailed among them.

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On fifth day we made an earlier start than usual, having appointed a meeting at Nerac for the evening at a distance of about seventy miles. This was a little *de trop*, but we could not very well avoid it, and the road is capital, the country hilly and open; the people eager for tracts.

The two dear simple-hearted pastors were ready to receive us. When we entered the meeting we found hundreds of people, Protestants and Roman Catholics; and a very open time it proved. We were allowed to conduct it in our own way. It was given to me to hold out a full and free invitation to the Saviour, without distinction of nation, name or class. The next morning the two pastors breakfasted with us, and we had afterwards a very relieving time with them. I was enabled fully to explain to them, in answer to their numerous questions, the scriptural ground of our distinguishing views. They seemed to be in a teachable spirit, and offered no objection to our remarks, but expressed their cordial satisfaction with the visit. The points before us were the immediate and perceptible guidance of the Spirit, Baptism and the Supper, the Christian Ministry, women's preaching, Friends' discipline, &c. We left the place with easy, happy minds, and after an agreeable journey, passing through the old picturesque town of Auch, arrived at Mirande.

Pau, first day, 4th mo., 28th.

Our journey yesterday from Mirande was very agreeable, the range of the Pyrenees being frequently in view, and magnificently so from the tops of some of the hills. My wife and I rode outside until driven in by a thunder storm. The Hotel de France, at Pau, clean and comfortable, and the place highly interesting and beautiful from its situation. Here is the old castle where Henry IV was born; and here also the humble dwelling where the wife of a saddler gave birth to Bernadotte, the late King of Sweden; two kings of comparatively good character, who, however, both changed their religion to obtain or keep a throne. The terrace close by the inn commands a splendid view of the range of the Pyrenees, crowned with snow, the *Pic du Midi* being

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in the midst of the scene. Below the snow mountains, are green, wooded hills, and at the foot of these a rich valley with the Adour running through it. A meeting in the Protestant temple is appointed for this evening. A good building has been erected for the joint and separate use of French and English, chiefly through the liberality of the Duchess of Gordon. The pastor here is of the Genevese Evangelical School, and very brotherly and friendly. I conceive it quite a favour that we have been brought to this delightful spot, which will not fail to leave a charming picture on our memory.

Now at the extreme point of our journey, we have to acknowledge that our divine Lord and Master has hitherto dealt most graciously with us, preserving us in body and soul, and opening our way before us. May we all serve, worship, and obey him, as his willing-hearted yoke-bearers, more and more!

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CHAPTER XLIII.

1844. ÆT. 56.

JOURNEY IN FRANCE CONTINUED; PAU; TOULOUSE; SAVERDUN; MONTAUBAN; ORLEANS; PARIS; ATTENDANCE OF YEARLY MEETING; VOYAGE TO GUERNSEY; JERSEY; LABOURS THERE; LECTURE ON TOTAL ABSTINENCE; WATER IS BEST; RETURN HOME.

Montauban, 5th mo., 1844.

I am glad to have a quiet hour this morning to fetch up my journal after our heart-searching, yet comforting little meeting in our hotel. We have some important engagements in prospect; a public meeting for worship this evening, a meeting with the students to-morrow at one o'clock, and one on Anti-Slavery and the West Indies to-morrow evening. We hope to start on third day morning for Orleans, trusting that we may arrive there in time for our next Sabbath. Our last, as thou wilt remember, was spent at that loveliest of all the places we have seen in France—Pau.

I think I mentioned our morning walk in the park attached to the old castle, the birth place of Henry IV, and the exquisite beauty of the scene. Fine woods in the fore-ground before us, the river Adour winding through extremely green meadows with pretty villages, green, wooded hills beyond, and the jagged pyramids of snow in the fine range of the Pyrenees forming the back-ground and frame-work of the picture. We repeated this walk on second day before our departure, in company with the agreeable minister of the English Church, who breakfasted with us, as did Buscarlet, the French Independent Pastor, and Lebrat, a schoolmaster, who is doing much among a body of Protestants

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of old date, in the midst of the Mountains of Ossean. The flock consists of little cultivators and proprietors, who have subscribed largely for the erection of a school house. We, of course, cheerfully contributed to help those who were thus willing to help themselves.

Our meeting on first day evening was held in the Protestant "temple," used by both English and French, and was a very favoured one. I have seldom felt a greater relief of mind in the full declaration of the gospel of our Holy Redeemer. First, on the divine character, and secondly, on the ground and nature of the spiritual government of Christ.

We left Pau about noon, and passed through a little town where they were holding a cattle and sheep market, (the sheep mostly brown and black, with soft, silky wool,) multitudes of the picturesque-looking country people were thronging the place, and intense was their eagerness to obtain our tracts. No sooner had we driven off, than I remembered that had I been more watchful, I might have ascended the back seat or box of the carriage, and addressed them on subjects of vital importance; and I carried along with me for many a mile, the painful feeling of irretrievable omission; but it was want of watchfulness, not of willingness, I believe. It is highly needful to be always alive to the passing calls of duty, on a journey like this.

We again lodged at Mirande, (the road so far being the same as we had travelled in going to Pau,) rose early next morning, and after a very tedious journey through a fertile and diversified country, arrived at Toulouse to dinner on third day. Our kind friends, the three brothers Courtois, had prepared accommodation for us at a clean and comfortable abode in a narrow street. Toulouse is composed of such, its 80,000 inhabitants being much crowded, and is rather unusually destitute of outward charms. Frank, Louis, and Armande Courtois, are remarkable men; bankers in good reputation, but devoted, heart and hand, to every good word and work. They have a book society, which includes 2000 libraries in different parts of France, they publishing the books at Toulouse, all for edification. They have also

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three Protestant schools (for boys, girls, and infants) under their care, and hold two or three meetings for worship and instruction every week, in a humble chapel attached to their house; they have been engaged in public controversy with the Bishop of Toulouse, who had foolishly challenged the Protestant versions of Scripture; and lastly, have founded the Asylum at Saverdun, for orphan and otherwise destitute Protestant boys, about eighty in number. These truly Christian young men are blessed with Christian wives, and they all live together in one large house, occupying a whole court. They have a pious mother, who is English, and their uncles, who reside near them, are of the same mind and purpose as themselves. Thus this family, so well known in the religious world, are the centre of action for all good purposes in the South of France; and are aided by Chabrand, one of the pastors of Toulouse, and by Adolphe Monod and De Félice, two evangelical professors at the university at Montauban. It is really a privilege to have made an acquaintance, I might truly say, to have formed a friendship, with such a family. They had appointed a meeting for us in their own chapel for eight o'clock in the evening, which was much crowded, and ended well.

On fourth day we drove to Saverdun, due south thirty miles, dining with D'Ounous the President of the Committee of the Orphan Institution; an aged gentleman of piety, formerly member of the Chamber of Deputies for the district, who, with his wife, son, and son's wife, received us with warm hospitality; and in the evening we had a crowded and very solemn public meeting in the school-room. One of the poor boys had died of consumption that very morning, which suggested many solemn reflections. The different members of the Committee, the Director and his wife, (excellent people,) and the two schoolmasters, seemed all glad to receive us. After the meeting, I told the boys a little about America, and greatly were they interested. It was a time of much divine favour.

On fifth day morning we again visited, and more thoroughly inspected, the Institution; and I explained to the boys the Ackworth method of obtaining a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures,

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which seemed well approved both by them and their teachers, who propose to adopt it. After taking leave of our kind friends, we returned to Toulouse to dinner, and in the evening held a second meeting at the house of the Courtois, no other more public place being obtainable. An expectation having been given that I would address the people on Slavery, I felt most easy, after a good silence, to speak on the more serious parts of that subject, and then was enabled to turn to that great work of Redemption, through our Divine Saviour, of which we all stood in need. Thy dear mother followed me in the same strain, and the meeting ended well. The Courtois were so pressing that we should continue with them the following day, that we thought it best to consent. We accordingly went to breakfast with them, and were favoured with an excellent family sitting afterwards.

Just after we sat down the Abbé Maurette came in, who has lately renounced Popery, and is now under prosecution at law as a libeller, for the spirited book which he has since published against the clergy. He is a man of high character, but a little too fiery in some of his expressions. He was urged to leave the country for Canada, but refuses, and determines to take all consequences. He seemed deeply interested by our little meeting; and thy mother's ministry, though she knew not who or what he was, just fitted his case. Thus are we graciously furnished from time to time, with proofs of the truth of that precious doctrine of the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit, which it is our privilege as a religious body, (may it be always so,) steadily to maintain. We then visited the three schools, and after a few quiet hours at the hotel returned to the Courtois to dinner. We were met by the *recteur* of the great Academy here, who superintends the education of three whole departments; a liberal Roman Catholic and agreeable man.

In the evening many influential gentlemen and some ladies joined our circle, and at the earnest request of the Courtois I made them an hour's speech or more on Slavery and the West Indies. They seemed much satisfied and interested, though, for my own part, I was nervous and somewhat confused. Our friends

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took a most affectionate leave of us yesterday morning, when we were glad to leave that busy scene and close city, and pursue our journey in quiet, (though, for a long way, through a violent thunder storm,) to this much more airy and agreeable place, (Montauban) on the banks of the beautiful Tarne; the "Plateaux" in fine weather commanding a distant view of the Pyrenees. Nothing can be more comfortable than our quarters. It is like having the undisturbed use of a commodious French château, with everything needful at our command; the people of the house simple-heared and sociable, as well as clean. We soon fell in with A. Monod, professor of theology. De Félice, another of the professors, and Marzial, the dear old pastor, who are all thoroughly willing to help us; the two former, men of first-rate talent, as well as decided piety. May we be helped through our weighty engagements by the "MIGHTY ONE" on whom help is laid.

Paris, Hotel Bedford, 6th mo., 14th, 1844.

Here we are once more, just for this single day, preparing for our flight homeward. We have many mercies to recount in the retrospect of the last week or ten days. No place has proved more interesting to us than Montauban. I had long felt a wish to go there, and a drawing of Christian love and interest towards the young men of the university, (all studying for the ministry,) and the professors. Of the latter there are six. Marzial, the evangelical pastor of the town, freely gave up his evening meeting on first day to us. It was held in a large school-room attached to the "Temple," and proved an occasion of much interest; many of the students were there, and I trust that some divine help was graciously afforded, as I endeavoured to develop the doctrines contained in our Lord's words in the last chapter of Revelations—"Behold I come quickly. I am the *root* and the *offspring* of David," &c. The dear old pastor, when prayer had been offered, concluded the meeting with a paternal blessing, and we afterwards spent an hour with a company of Christian friends at Monod's.

The next day was one of peculiar interest. Monod breakfasted with us; and we had afterwards some intimate conversation with

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him. His duties at the university are very much of a paternal character; and the students seem to gather round him. They were summoned to his house, to meet us, at nine o'clock. In the meantime, Josiah Forster and I called on ———, who was very polite, and soon returned our call, but our grounds of unity with him were small, and he declined joining the meeting of young men; which was attended by nearly the whole of them, and our three friendly Professors. I walked with the students in the shady garden, amidst the ceaseless songs of the nightingales, and quite enjoyed myself. We then settled down in a truly quiet, solemn meeting. I had much to say to them, for my mind and heart were full towards them. The danger of adding to the truth, and building on the one foundation with wood, hay, and stubble. The still greater danger of taking away from the truth, and especially of depriving it of its fundamental pillars; the awful punishment of this, the taking away of our names from "the book of life;" the true preparation for the ministry of the gospel, even the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and of fire; and the necessity of a constant dependence on the divine anointing, as the great qualification for the work. Much seriousness and solemnity prevailed. I can hardly describe the relief which I felt when it was over. We had a sitting afterwards with Babut, a brother-in-law of Monod's, living under the same roof, who has long been afflicted by a most painful spinal affection. Then followed visits to an excellent institution for thirty-eight orphan girls; well managed, and extremely clean; also to a Protestant Refuge for destitute old women. A public anti-slavery meeting, with the approbation of the Mayor, was appointed for the evening. Many hundreds attended it, and there were crowds at the door unable to get in. We had issued a hand-bill on the subject, with the aid of our friend De Félice, and of a pious active Protestant gentleman *Le Notaire* Borell. I spoke with much ease; comparing the several results of slavery and of emancipation, as I had myself witnessed them, in an economical, physical, moral, and religious point of view. Nothing could exceed the attention of the audience; all the students, or nearly all, were present; and a

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great many of the respectable citizens, both Roman Catholic and Protestant. De Félice, who is a man of superior powers, both as a writer and speaker, is remarkably alive to this great question, and, I hope, will become an important helper in the cause. It would have been worth our going to Montauban had it been only to make his acquaintance, and that of A. Monod.

On third day, we had the three Professors, and some Christian friends to breakfast; and parted with them in a flow of hearty good-will, after an interesting time of Scripture reading, silence, and ministry. Books were distributed in abundance, and we left the place at noon, after visiting an excellent establishment for Protestant young ladies, kept by a pious Moravian. So ended our deeply interesting *séjour* at Montauban.*

* The following letter from G. de Félice shows the impression made by Joseph John Gurney's visit to Montauban.

Montauban, le 14 Decembre.

Je m'empresse, chers amis, de vous communiquer, autant que me le permettent des souvenirs déjà éloignés, quelques détails sur le séjour de M. J. J. Gurney à Montauban.

Il arriva dans les premiers jours du mois de Mai, 1844, accompagné de sa respectable épouse et de M. Josiah Forster. Sa haute réputation de piété, de philanthropie, et de libéralité Chrétienne, l'avait précédé dans notre ville, et nous fûmes heureux de faire le connaissance personelle d'un homme qui avait rendu de si éminents services à la sainte cause de la réligion.

M. Gurney s'était proposé deux objets principaux dans son voyage: l'un d'annoncer en tout occasion favorable les grandes vérités de la foi évangélique; l'autre de plaider spécialement la question de l'affranchissement des Noirs dans les Colonies Françaises.

Fidèle à cette double mission, M. Gurney s'empressa d'abord de tenir plusieurs assemblées d'édification. Le Dimanche, 5me Mai, il présida à la réunion du soir, qui a lieu dans une salle du temple des Carmes. L'auditoire était nombreux, et l'impression produite par les paroles de cet excellent ami fut profonde. Il y apporta cette admirable simplicité, ce caractère sérieux, cette force de pensée et d'expression, qui étaient les traits distinctifs de ses qualités oratoires. Il observa quelques formes particulières à la communion des *Amis*, entre autres les intervalles de *silence* usités dans leur culte; mais ces particularités, loin de choquer l'assemblée, ne servirent qu'à augmenter le recueillement et l'édification générale.

Le lendemain, 6me Mai, eut lieu une autre réunion dans la maison d'un de nos amis. Les étudiants de la Faculté de théologie y avaient été spécialement convoqués, et y étaient fort nombreux. * * *

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On their way to Paris, from Montauban, they passed through Brive, Limoges, and Orleans.

At Brive, lives la Baronne le Clerc, the sister of Stephen Grellet, a lady-like, elderly widow, surrounded by children and grandchildren. She is a Roman Catholic, much devoted, and yet liberal; very refined and pleasing. We called on her before we left the town, on fifth day; and, in a comfortable sitting, were brought to a feeling of sympathy with her. * * *

Limoges is the birth-place of Stephen Grellet; and his elder brother Joseph, also a Friend, who once lived at Nottingham, now resides here with his Roman Catholic wife. They both spent the evening with us, and he came again to an early breakfast. We

Outre ces deux assemblées, M. et Madame Gurney nous édifièrent dans des réunions plus intimes, et firent d'abondantes distributions de livres pieux à leurs amis. En résumé, leur séjour à Montauban fut pour nous tous un moyen de réveil et de rafraichissement.

J'arrive au second objet du voyage de M. J. J. Gurney. Dès son arrivée dans notre ville, il s'addressa aux personnes qu'il jugeait les mieux disposées à s'interesser au sort des pauvres esclaves. Déjà d'autres membres de le '*Anti-Slavery Society*,' notamment M. M. Alexander et Wiffen avaient appellé notre attention sur ce sujet et tenu des réunions particulières pour nous exhorter à travailler en faveur de l'emancipation des Noirs. Mais M. Gurney fit un grand pas de plus; il exprima le désir de soutenir cette cause dans une assemblée *publique*.

L'execution d'un tel projet etait délicate et difficile; car l'opinion de la plupart des Français n'est pas favorablement disposée pour les Anglais qui viennent leur recommander l'emancipation des esclaves. Il y a des différences de religion, de mœurs, de nationalité, qui sont des barrières presque infranchissables. Mais M. Gurney ne le laissa point décourager, et nous avions pleine confiance dans la manière dont il s'acquitterait de sa tâche. Une salle publique fut donc demandée à M. le Maire de Montauban, et des cartes de convocation furent distribuées dans toute la ville.

L'assemblée eut lieu le Lundi, 6me Mai, à 7 heures du soir, dans la grande salle du Tribunal de Commerce. On y remarquait un grand nombre de Catholiques Romains, et parmi eux plusieurs personnes notables. Ils étaient venus par curiosité autant et peut-être plus que par intérêt pour la principe de l'emancipation.

Il me serait difficile de bien caractériser l'excellent effet que produisit le discours de M. Gurney; à peine avait il prononcé quelques mots que déjà toute les preventions de son auditoire étaient dissipées. Il raconta de la manière la plus simple et la plus émouvante quels avaient été les efforts et les succès des Chrétiennes d'Angleterre pour l'abolition de l'esclavage. Il parla de ce qu'il avait

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felt much sympathy with this quiet, worthy man, who is, I trust, (in the midst of darkness and superstition,) preserved steady to his principles. * * *

Our kind friend Duchemin came to us at our Inn, at Orleans, on seventh day evening, and informed us of his arrangement for the Sabbath day's work, then ensuing; fifteen miles into the country, to Villeneuve, in the morning; the meeting appointed at eleven o'clock; an afternoon meeting at Tournon, on our way back, the village where I had before held a meeting; and a third in the evening at Orleans. I was sufficiently recovered from my cold and fatigue to meet this arrangement, and thy dear mother went through the whole of it with me, as well as Josiah Forster. We found a crowd of clean, simple-hearted villagers, already gathered in their meetiug-house, on our arrival at Villeneuve; a

vu lui-même dans la Jamaïque et les autres isles Anglaises. Il montra l'homme de race noire délivré enfin du poids de ses chaines, instruit dans la religion de Dieu-Sauveur, s'accoutumant à la practique des devoirs domestiques et civils, devenu digne de la liberté par la liberté même, et s'élévant rapidement au niveau de la civilization moderne. Puis M. Gurney addressa de pressantes exhortations à ses auditeurs pour les engager à reclamer sans retard l'emancipàtion dans les Colonies Françaises.

Tout son discours était plein d'intérêt, de justesse, de mesure, et même *d'esprit* dans le meilleur sens du mot. Les auditeurs, en se retirant, temoignaient tous de la vive satisfaction qu'ils en avaient éprouvée.

J'ai sous les yeux le No. du *Courier de Tarn et Garonne*, du 9me Mai, 1844 qui rend compte de cette mémorable séance. Il loue beaucoup *la manière franche, naïve, positive*, de l'orateur Anglais, (ce sont ses propres termes,) et plaide lui-même avec chaleur la cause des esclaves.

Un autre fait prouve combien l'impression de cette séance fut durable, car, quelques mois après, *la Société des Sciences et Belles Lettres* de Montauban proposa pour le concours du prix de poésie *l'Abolition de l'Esclavage*. Depuis lors, les petitions pour l'affranchissement des Noirs ont obtenu à Montauban de nombreuses signatures.

" Voilà l'œuvre d'un courageux serviteur de Christ, et d'un philanthrope dévoué, dans notre contrée. Elle ne s'effacera jamais de nos souvenirs.

M. Gurney parla aussi de ce sujet à ses amis dans des entretiens plus particuliers. Il réveilla notre zèle, excita notre sympathie, et nous donna de précieuses informations sur la cause des esclaves. C'est lui qui a provoqué la composition d'une brochure qui fut publié en 1846, dans laquelle l'auteur a soutenu le principe de *l'emancipation immédiate et complète*.

G. De Felice.

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village among the vineyards; the men in nice blue frocks; *vignerons*, and little proprietors; the women equally neat, in their white caps, &c. It was a satisfactory occasion, much interest and feeling being evinced by many; and evident marks of the spreading of that leaven which can alone purify the lump.

We afterwards dined at a clean little inn, where we fell in with a light-hearted young medical man, who had been educated for a priest, but had, through his travels, changed his profession, and now openly avows himself to be *un théiste*. We had a good deal of conversation with him. I begged him carefully to read the New Testament; explained to him in what way it bears its own evidence of Divine authority; and this being granted, it is nothing more than *la vraie philosophie*, to accept all its contents in simple faith. Duchemin had a pocket Testament with him, which he gave him; and we left him a little softened, after receiving his promise that he would read it. He interested us a good deal; may the interview have been blessed to him! How good it is to observe and to profit by the little daily intersections of Providence!

Our afternoon meeting at Tournon was comfortable. I spoke on Rev. vii, in the belief that some good Christians from those parts had been gathered to the glorious company therein mentioned. This was afterwards publicly confirmed by Duchemin, who stated, that two pious couples belonging to his congregation there, had lately died; in each case, the husband and wife within two or three days of each other.

We found time at Orleans for a cup of coffee and a little rest, before the evening meeting at eight o'clock. Notwithstanding the pouring rain, it was very fairly attended. Baptism, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, was the subject on which I felt bound to speak; openly giving the spiritual view of Baptism, and at the same time unfolding the whole comprehensive bearing of the Christian faith. It was a very solemn time. Fain would we have accompanied Josiah Forster to Paris next morning, or followed him by the next train, especially as he and I had by letter offered to spend half an hour with Guizot in the evening;

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but a meeting was appointed for us at Neuville; fifteen or eighteen miles from Orleans, in an opposite direction from Villeneuve, for second day at one or two o'clock; and neither my wife nor myself felt easy to omit attending it. So we gave up the day in faith, and it was well we did so. Long and tiring was our drive to the village of Neuville, over sad roads. The chapel bell began to ring as soon as our carriage came in sight. Crowds of contented, clean, happy-looking country people were engaged in the weekly market, which abounded with provisions. Want seems unknown among them; the land being productive of corn of various kinds, and saffron, which is raised in great quantities. We secured a cup of coffee, and a rough piece of bread and butter, before we entered the new built "temple." When we did enter, we found it crowded with the country people, Roman Catholics as well as Protestants, and thankful we are that we had not turned away from this part of our pilgrimage. There was much of heavenly goodness to be felt in the meeting. I spoke on the new birth unto righteousness, illustrating it by the Gospel history of the resurrection of Lazarus; thy mother followed, Duchemin interpreting for her. I had afterwards a few sentences for a group of people in the market place, and we returned home in peace by another road through the forest of Orleans, and passing by a fine château and estate belonging to the Duc de Broglie. Our late dinner at the hotel was succeeded by one more effort; a large anti-slavery company at Duchemin's at eight o'clock. I told them my West Indian story; and we ended with a truly solemn meeting, thy mother addressing them on the slavery of the soul, and its true remedies. I had afterwards to kneel in fervent prayer; Duchemin added a few words of brotherly gratitude and kindness at the close of the opportunity. So ended, in much solemnity, our religious services in France.

On third day morning we were in the railway carriage by seven o'clock, and arrived safely in Paris at eleven. We were glad to see Josiah Forster again, and soon found that nothing had suffered by our not being there the day before, as he had been unable to make any arrangement with Guizot. Moreover we found that,

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had we come the day before, the hotels were so crowded we could not have been taken in anywhere. How good it is to walk by faith!

Finding that Guizot received company that evening, I went to his house at eight o'clock; and, before the crowd assembled, secured a little conversation with him. I was much pleased to find that, in a late debate, occasioned by a petition from the *Ouvriers de Paris* for the abolition of slavery, he had openly declared, that to abolish it is the intention of Government, and that the first step should be taken without delay. He told us, before we left Paris, what it was to be; small enough, certainly; but such as it is, (amounting only to a few preparatory ameliorations,) it was introduced by the Minister of Marine, in the House of Peers, the very day of my visit to Guizot. I am satisfied that nothing effectual will be done until public opinion is stirred up; and stirred up it is, in some degree, already. I expressed to Guizot, before we parted, my earnest desire that he might be enabled to persevere in the path of *Christian* duty. He received it very kindly and took an affectionate leave of me.

Returning to England by way of Dover, they arrived in London in time to attend the Yearly Meeting; after which they proceeded at once to the Channel Islands.

TO HIS DAUGHTER.

Guernsey, 6th mo., 8th, 1844.

* * * Our dear friend William Forster kindly accompanied us to Southampton last third day, and we embarked in the Atlantic steamer under happy auspices; though the wind was ahead, the great waters were on the whole smoother than usual. The voyage down the Southampton water, and under the shore of the Isle of Wight, as far as the Needles, is highly beautiful. After passing them we came to the open sea, and scudded along quietly during the night; until, at dawn the next day, I found we were passing by the Caskets, a row of dangerous but picturesque rocks, with Alderney in sight at our left, and Guernsey itself visible ahead at

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a great distance. This part of the channel is very full of rocks, and the navigation in hazy weather is difficult and dangerous; but at seven o'clock we were under the brow of Guernsey Castle, which is built on an island rock near the shore, and a boat soon brought us safely to land. The appearance of the green hills of Guernsey, surmounting the picturesque town, called "St." Peter's Port, is very inviting as one approaches the island, and reminded me of some West Indian scenes long since admired. The small islands of Herms and Jethou were seen to the left hand as we approached Guernsey; with the high land of Sark in the same direction, but farther in the distance. We were well pleased to land, unhurt, and almost undisturbed by our voyage, and found very comfortable quarters at Marshall's hotel near the pier. A friend, named George Letissier, met us at the landing, and conducted us to our abode. Charles Dudley and Wilks, the editor of the Christian Observer, arrived this morning as representatives of the Bible Society; and I have been dining with them to-day, very agreeably, at Thomas Lihon's. * * * It was a satisfaction to me, that the way opened for my holding a Friends' Meeting, in the large Methodist meeting-house on the evening of our arrival. The meeting was well attended, and was remarkable for quietness and solemnity. I returned home refreshed and comforted. Notice was given at the close of the meeting, of a second, to be held at the French Methodist meeting-house the next evening. Fifth day, like its precursor, proved satifactory. We had a good week-day meeting with Friends in the morning; small and poor as their flock certainly is. In the evening I repaired to the French chapel, a good deal laden with religious exercise. Many hundreds came to the meeting. The doctrines of the gospel were freely declared, and speaking in French was once more made easy, and even pleasant to me. I am, I trust, thankful for this facility, which is almost as useful in these islands as in France itself.

Jersey, fourth day morning, 6th mo., 12th.

Sixth day in last week was spent very agreeably. In the morning we took a long drive, with our Friend William Stevens

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as a guide, and greatly were we pleased with it. Some of the rocky bays are highly pretty and picturesque; and one of them, the Gouffre, almost amounting to the sublime. The country itself is under close cultivation, and the land, though not first-rate in appearance, is more productive than in most parts of England; a good deal of small timber, and pretty neat residences everywhere interspersed. The Island is divided into ten parishes, each having its steeple; the little villages very picturesque and pleasing. The farms are small, and occupied chiefly by little thriving proprietors; nothing can exceed the comfortable look of the peasantry; no begging, and I should think but very little poverty. Guernsey and Jersey are a fief of the Crown, being the relic of the old Norman possessions of William the Conqueror; they have no taxes there, except a very moderate property tax, raised for home purposes, and all things desirable are freely imported from France, &c. This is a great privilege; so that living in these islands is cheap, and in some respects luxurious. I made many rough sketches of the scenery; and, after dinner and an early tea, we went to a village two or three miles from the town, called St. Martin's, where I had appointed a public meeting for the French-speaking country people, in the meeting-house, for the evening. The congregation was large, and decent in appearance, and great was the attention and quietness which prevailed.

Seventh day was spent in family visiting. The little scattered flock of Friends is worth visiting; there is life to be found among them, and some hope for the future. Our Sabbath was one of much interest and divine favour. We had a searching morning meeting with the Friends and others. Dinner with the Stevens' family, who were full of hospitality, and engaged our feelings of sincere regard and friendship. I afterwards went with some friends to "Le Valle," a country district, about three miles, where a large assembly of the agreeable and respectable-looking peasantry were awaiting our arrival. We were favoured with a good meeting. The people seemed highly pleased at being addressed in their own language, and were very warm and affectionate. In the evening we had a large crowded meeting in the Independent

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meeting-house, and a truly flowing time it was. Thus we had, at the close of the day, much feeling of peace, and cause for thankfulness.

Second day, more family visits. In the evening, though suffering intensely from toothache, I persevered in going to the Bible Meeting, a very large one indeed, where I spoke freely and fully; I hope not in vain. I had to show, from West Indian experience, the connexion between the free dissemination of Scripture and the just liberties of mankind; and afterwards gave a pretty full account of the Continent, Silesia—France—Belgium. It was a good time, though I was in great pain; yet we were able to prosecute our labours the next day. In the evening we held our concluding meeting in the Assembly Rooms; well attended by many of the principal inhabitants. It was an occasion of much sweetness and solemnity, a crown to the whole visit; leaving us without a feather's weight, ready for our departure next morning. I had to show how Christ is made unto us, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and, all included in the last,—*redemption*. There was peculiar solemnity in the silence. As the sun broke through our windows the next morning, we were roused from our slumbers about half-past four o'clock, and were on board the Atalanta soon after six. Save a ground-swell, the sea was smooth; and very beautiful was the view of Guernsey on leaving it, of Sark in passing, and of Jersey on our approach. * * *

Fourth day morning; we found good quarters at the British Hotel. After making some meeting arrangements, we drove out to the Prince's Tower, about two miles from the town, which is itself large, stirring, commercially thriving, with nearly 30,000 inhabitants, but not very agreeable. The country is verdant and woody, intersected by shady lanes; the land much divided and well cultivated. The view from the tower, of the great expanse below, with the bright blue sea around it, and a picturesque coast, with a castle here and there, and many pretty little country residences, all which we saw under a bright sun, has left a charming picture on our minds.

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In the evening, the little week-day meeting of Friends; three families; and a good time afterwards with a congregation of Methodists.

Earlham, 6th mo., 28th, 1844.

MY DEAREST ANNA,

It is an inexpressible favour that I am able to continue the thread of my Journal in thy own peaceful "little parlour," with my window open on the garden, in its most flowery trim, and all, within and without, quietness and peace. Surely this is a happy termination of our long-continued wanderings!

I wrote my last Journal on the day of our arrival at Jersey; just after we had taken a survey of that delightful island, with its bowery lanes and bright green little fields and orchards, with the fine, rocky coast, deep blue sea, and old castles, from the top of Prince's Tower. That was fourth day, the twelfth, more than a fortnight ago; but the flow of engagements since has left no room for journalizing.

That evening we attended the little week-day meeting of the few scattered Friends, held in a pleasant cottage in a garden of roses; and though the flock is very small, we had a time of some refreshment, as well as searching of heart. After our meeting was over, I went with a Friend to the Methodist meeting, with the leave of the minister and his friends; patiently heard a rapid sermon, of a lively character; and then held a solemn little meeting, with no very large number there assembled.

The next evening a much larger meeting was held with the French-speaking Methodists, in another house; which was a time of peculiar weight, and very relieving to my own feelings. Perhaps it might be regarded as the best French meeting I have ever held. We received a kind call that morning from General Touzel; and the friends of the Bible Society called to solicit my aid at their approaching meeting. On sixth day I attended that meeting, which was spirited and interesting; and spoke with ease to myself, and I hope for some good purpose. I came home in time to take a walk on the shore of the beautiful bay of

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"St." Aubin's; on one side of which stands the prosperous and increasing town, ("St." Heliers,) now containing nearly 30,000 inhabitants, and a very considerable port in point of commerce, shipping, &c.

Seventh day was agreeable and interesting; General Touzel called in his little open carriage, and conveyed us to his beautiful little residence, on a green, wood-clad eminence, surveying the town and bay, studiously cultivated, and full of charm. After breakfast we had a comforting Scripture reading. Then the General took us a delightful drive of several hours, as far as Goree, and the fine old castle on an eminence above the rocky shore of Mont Orgueil. The scenery is quite charming; and the little properties of the numerous petty land-owners appeared flourishing with corn, fig-trees, apple-trees, and fine crops of potatoes and clover—all green and luxuriant, notwithstanding the long drought. Near the castle is an old Druidical temple, composed of large granite stones, upright, in juxtaposition, in the form of a circle, with a vast incumbent stone for the roof. How the last was raised, and placed on the top of the others without machinery, who shall say?

We returned to the General's to dinner; and having observed that morning a placard about the streets, indicating that "J. J. Gurney was to deliver a Temperance Lecture that evening at the Temperance Hall," which was put forth without my knowledge, and only in consequence of my saying I was willing to attend and help, we were under the necessity of redeeming the pledge. They have a hall which holds some 300 or 400 people, or probably more. It was filled, and we felt much peace and satisfaction in the effort. I *did* lecture to a very attentive audience, endeavouring to place the subject on a clear, moderate, Christian ground. They have 1500 members in Jersey, which is an excellent thing, as spirits are imported at a very cheap rate from France; and brandy and water is the general beverage of male and female, to the great injury of the population.

Such was the origin of the well known little tract entitled

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Water is Best, which has been since widely circulated. Joseph John Gurney thus continues :—

Then followed our Sabbath; a very close, searching, exercising meeting in the morning with a little flock of Friends and a few others; and family sittings in the afternoon. In the evening we had a large meeting in the English Independent meeting-house, in which I had to dwell on the subject of the kingdom of Christ, as unfolded in Scripture. It certainly was not a Jewish millenarian view, which is somewhat rife in Jersey, through the exertions of a little band of Plymouth brethren. I believe it was a solid, satisfactory meeting.

On second day in last week, we visited the infant school, prison, and hospital, or rather workhouse, and held satisfactory meetings in the two latter, our friend Wilks being our companion. We afterwards dined at Colonel Le Couteur's, another exquisitely beautiful spot, commanding a delightful view of the bay. The colonel is Vicomte of the Island, a crown officer of importance. He was absent, but his wife and aged mother entertained us, most kindly.

In the evening we attended the Bible meeting at "St." Aubin's, and very lively, large, and apparently effective was the meeting. The following day was one of considerable interest and charm. We traversed the beautiful island in an open carriage, till we came to *Greve de Lecq*, on the opposite coast, where there are an exquisite bay, vast granite rocks, marine caves, and other picturesque objects, with a neat little hotel. Here we wandered by ourselves among the hills, and on the shore; and, after an early dinner, called on an old man connected with Friends, living in one of the true Jersey cottages; a dark place, with walls of great thickness, but clean, and replete with all the necessaries of life. The veteran of about ninety years old, looked something like an old Jacob or Abraham; with a fine beard, clean, and innocent as a child; and much pleased to see us, but so deaf that no words could be made to penetrate. We then proceeded to a large Methodist chapel at "St." Ouen's, about the centre of the

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island, whither crowds of country people were seen flocking, and when we took our seats, the house soon became very full. It was a French meeting, and I hope it was not in vain that I was led to dwell on the several points of our Lord's conversation with the woman of Samaria. The attention of the people, who were as respectable, and as decent in appearance and demeanour as those in Guernsey, was very great. It was late at night before we again found ourselves at our hotel, in "St." Helier's. On fourth day we breakfasted with the widow of Thomas Dumaresq, in the country; a pious, feeling, affectionate lady; and we met two or three willing-hearted friends at her house. There is, in Jersey, a remarkably open door for all such labours of love. We afterwards finished our family visits. In the evening we had a noble public meeting in a vast room at the Arsenal, usually employed for drilling soldiers; quite full, and truly favoured with that cementing and quieting influence which we most value. The gospel was, I trust, fully preached to that large, mixed assembly.

We intended to leave the next morning, but the stormy winds, dark clouds, and rain, clearly forbad. And it was well we stayed, for it gave us the opportunity of holding a highly satisfactory and animating anti-slavery meeting in the evening, at the Temperance Hall; in which I told my story of slavery on the one hand, and liberty on the other. Such a meeting was greatly wanted; as the whole population of these islands, about 80,000, is now using slave-grown sugar, chiefly from Porto Rico, which I know to be a land of deep abominations. Great feeling was excited, and a committee formed. Thus ended our work. The next day (sixth day, the 21st) we went on board the Transit, Captain Goodridge; and after twenty-one hours of steaming in quiet weather, but with the tossing of a ground swell, reached Southampton on seventh day morning, in time for breakfast; tired, but thankful, I trust, to be once more, and that comparatively for a permanence, in our own beloved and happy land.

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CHAPTER XLIV.

1844. ÆT. 56—57.

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL; ILLNESS OF HIS SISTER ELIZABETH FRY; LETTERS TO HER; LETTER TO A FRIEND; ILLNESS OF SIR T. F. BUXTON, AND LETTER TO HIM.

Earlham, dear old Earlham, 7th mo., 2nd, 1844. A great favour surely to be writing my journal here once more, in peace of mind, as well as fair bodily health.

The sudden death of dear William Backhouse, so soon after being liberated by the Yearly meeting for his mission to Norway; and the subsequent total wreck, with all on board, of the steamer from Hull to Hamburg, in which their places had been engaged, have filled us with serious feelings, and a mixture of grief, wonder, and thankfulness. What can we say, what ought we to say, under such circumstances, but "Thy will, and not ours be done?"

I may gratefully confess, that, notwithstanding a great degree of mental poverty, with the heartfelt acknowledgment that unto me belong shame and blushing, we are favoured with sweet tranquillity and peace on our return home. Earlham is lovely; greener than we might have expected after the long drought, and clad in flowers; an earthly paradise for one who knows that he deserves none of its comforts, and who feels in some degree willing to resign any or all of them, should it be the Lord's will.

7th mo., 8th. I have been comparing myself to a vessel just returned from a voyage, and sent into dock to be thoroughly cleansed and re-fitted; a work of which, as I am very sensible, I

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stand much in need. May I abide in patience under the holy hand of him who can alone truly qualify for his own service! My lips have been sealed in the last four of our meetings, not without a feeling of quietness and peace to myself. I heartily desire to be preserved from giving to others that which is given me only for my own edification. In the meantime, I am ready to hope that our meeting is improving in weight; and not running down in point of numbers.

The subject of the City Mission has been closely before me; and on looking calmly at the system of its operation, I have felt best satisfied, on the ground of our testimony to the freedom and spirituality of the ministry of the gospel, to decline subscribing to it. I strongly feel the desirableness of maintaining a thorough consistency as a Friend; nor does this course contract our hearts towards our fellow-Christians; rather does it leave us at liberty to rejoice in the blessing which rests on their conscientious efforts; even upon those in which we cannot partake. Yet here faithfulness is not without suffering, both from within and from without. In the meantime, our own lawful territory is spacious. May we be enabled to occupy it with all diligence, and in the fear of the Lord!

This day is appointed for the funeral of our truly beloved and esteemed friend, Elizabeth Fry, of Plashet Cottage,* who died in peace early last week. The loss of the Church, in her removal, is far from inconsidcrable, but for her, as we fully believe, it is all gain. The Lord grant, reverently be it spoken, that covetousness, worldliness, and selfishness, may never cheat us out of our portion in the everlasting riches which are in Christ!

His sister Elizabeth Fry's enfeebled state of health, and the remarkable series of bereavements which took place at this period in her family circle,† could not fail to excite

* The sister of Joseph Fry. It will be recollected that she accompanied Joseph John Gurney and his sister in their visit to Ireland.

† See Memoir of the Life of Elizabeth Fry, by her daughters, vol. ii, 445—448. Life by S. Corder, chap. xii.

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Joseph John Gurney's very tender sympathy. The following are from his letters to her at this time :—

Norwich, 7th mo., 11th, 1844.

MY DEAREST SISTER,

Though I do not like troubling thee to read letters now thou art so poorly, yet I wish to express my very tender sympathy, and that of my beloved wife, with thee, under the bereavements with which thou and thy family have been lately afflicted.

Dear Elizabeth Fry was at once dearly loved and highly esteemed by many; and by few more than myself; but how sweet is it to be fully assured that she rests in Jesus; that all to her is now rest, peace, joy, and glory! How satisfactory is the recollection of her consistent conduct, and faithful, evangelical ministry, so practical, and to the point on all occasions! And how quietly and firmly was she fixed on Christ, the rock of ages; who, in the midst of all our changes and sorrows, is the same "yesterday, to-day, and for ever!"

I can easily understand the depression which such an event must have occasioned thee, my dearest sister; but I hope thou wilt be of good cheer; and that the bright side of the picture will be increasingly pleasant in thy view, and present to thy soul. That thou mayest be strengthened and comforted of the Lord, and preserved in perfect peace and safety, is the ardent desire, and I trust, at times, the heartfelt prayer of thy ever loving brother,

J. J. GURNEY.

Norwich, 9th mo., 24th, 1844.

In the uncertainty about thy dear son-in-law, I have been almost unable to write to thee; but now that anxiety respecting him seems to be somewhat lessened, I hasten to express the deep interest which we have felt in thy returning to Upton, and the comfort which we had in hearing that the stormy waves which have been permitted to beat against thee have not overwhelmed thee; though I am sure they must have been very afflicting and appalling.

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It is evident that thy dear Master has been eminently with thee, anointing and re-anointing thee for his service, and lifting up thy head above the waters. Thou canst indeed set thy seal to the declaration that the "Lord on high is mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea."

Remarkable have been the dispensations allotted of late to the family circle; requiring on all our parts *deep resignation* of soul in the full assurance that our Father in heaven doeth all things *well*. In our solemn meeting, last first day afternoon, I was led (I may say *constrained*) to quote the poet Coleridge's last lines. How beautiful and expressive they are! As they may afford thee some comfort I will here quote them once more:—

"An heir of heaven, henceforth I fear not death;
In Christ I live; in Christ I draw the breath
Of the true life. Let, then, earth, sea, and sky,
Make war against me. On my front I show
Their mighty Master's seal. They vainly try
To end my life, who can but end its woe.
Is that a death-bed where the Christian lies?
Yes! but not *his*—'Tis death itself there dies."

What peculiar peace there is in the recollection that all the five beloved ones, younger and elder, who have lately been taken, were, as we may humbly yet fully believe, "*heirs of heaven*," so that we have nothing to do but to *rejoice* on their account.

With regard to those who are left behind, we may rest assured that one thing is certain, "*The Lord will provide.*" That He will richly supply all thy need, my dearest sister, I cannot for a moment doubt. Mayest thou be enabled quietly and joyfully to trust in him!

From his Journal:—

7th mo., 23rd. Continually do I bear my precious sister on my mind. How remarkable is the long-continued pressure of affliction upon her! It seems as if she could not rise out of it as in days of old; and the consideration of her enfeebled state is often very affecting to my feelings. And yet there is so much of

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sweetness and unbroken peace permitted her, and given to all of us respecting her, that mourning would be unseemly.

8th mo., 5th. I rose early, and have been roaming over this sweet earthly paradise, for almost such does it appear this lovely morning; the sky is clear; the air fresh; the grass sparkling with dew; the flowers radiant. Well may we be called upon to render to the Lord, "the calves of our lips;" or may I not rather say, the "melody of our hearts."

How delightful have the Scriptures been to me of late seasons! I have been struck with the *truthiness* which is so evident in their apparent contradictions. These are generally capable of being easily reconciled; but they do indeed mark the genuineness and authenticity of the whole.

9th mo., 8th. ———— and his wife, and sweet children, dined and lodged here on sixth day, and left us next morning. I had some interesting conversation with him on the subject of our Lord's second coming in glory; which he thinks will be, first, to reign on earth, and next to judge the world. I think this view of unfulfilled prophecy, and expectation of the personal reign of Christ, is fraught with many dangers; as I plainly told him. It diverts the attention, first, from Christ crucified, and secondly, from the spiritual, unseen, but actual, and all-important government of Christ, by his Spirit; and it aims a blow at the root of our exertions for the spread of the gospel. I think I have marked these effects in some. It appears to me, that the second visible coming of Christ, so often declared in the New Testament, as to be matter rather of doctrine than prophecy, is emphatically and solely for the final judgment of mankind. In the meantime his reign is altogether spiritual; and happy are they who submit to it now, and know it to be established in and over their own hearts.

9th mo., 15th. I am greatly pleased with Dr. Arnold's Life and Letters. His mind was large, broad, and clear. His notion of the required identity of the State and Church, appears to me to amount to nothing more than the truth which William Penn fully allowed and acted on; namely, that national Christian

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governments ought to be conducted by true Christians, and on truly Christian principles. Dr. Arnold would, perhaps, go a step further, and consider it one duty of a government so acting, to provide the means and opportunity for divine worship to the whole population; but then he would do this on a comprehensive plan, opening the appointed place of worship to all orthodox sects. He was evidently an ardent lover of Christ.

9th mo., 21*st*. Much engaged in the course of this week in reading the wondrous report of the Bible Society, and in preparing our own Auxiliary Report, which I read to the Committee last evening. It is truly a satisfaction and consolation to know that such vast efforts are in progress in so many different parts of the world. May the Lord bless and prosper the work! * * *

9th mo., 29*th*. We have passed an interesting week. On third day evening the Temperance tea party; many respectable people there, about 1000. I took the chair at the meeting, and was enabled to speak with some comfort to myself; recommending charity, and adverting to the power of the mind over the body, and of grace over both. Then followed our Quarterly Meeting. In the meeting of ministers and elders on fourth day evening, I had a few sentences for the consolation of the solitary, the weary, and the sorrowful. The meeting on fifth day morning was rather large, and a good time on the whole.

I feel some encouragement in the apprehension that the silence of our meetings is increasingly deep and solemn. May the Lord of *life* be with us for his mercy and his truth's sake!

Fourth day morning. This is the day of the Bible Society [meeting.] May the Sun of Righteousness graciously break forth upon us, with both healing and cheering on his wings! Never was this great cause more worthy of support, or more deeply important than at the present time.

10*th mo.*, 21*st*. To-day the third anniversary of our happy wedding day. A crowd of reflections rushes in on the retrospect of these three years. Our first happy few months, bright and glowing, but with its needful mixture of trial. Our journey to the West of England in the spring of 1842; my illness during

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the latter part of the spring and summer; public meetings in Norfolk and Suffolk, &c.; remarkable journey to the north on the death of Jonathan Backhouse; the publication of my little work on the Papal and Hierarchical system; our long journey in France, Switzerland, &c., in the spring and summer of 1843; return home in the 9th month; six months at home, including our dearest Anna's marriage, and our journeys to London and Darlington; the finishing and publishing of Habit and Discipline; second journey in France in the spring of this year; visit to the Channel Islands; peaceful four months at home; the dark Upton cloud, now mercifully dispersed. Such is a brief recapitulation of our outward story. The interior claims on my part two things. First, deep humiliation before the Lord; secondly, humble gratitude for all his preservation and mercy; for the continued privilege of our being engaged in his service; for the recovery of my health in a great degree; for the unspeakably precious gift of such a partner, counsellor, and supporter in life, as my dearest wife. May it please the Lord more and more to deepen and enlarge that blessed spiritual union between us, which is destined, as we humbly and reverently hope, to endure for ever!

In a letter to a Friend, also in the station of minister, written at this period, Joseph John Gurney freely expresses himself on several points of considerable practical interest and importance. Referring to the commonly adopted application of the term Word of God to the Holy Scriptures; he says:—

I am sure thou art aware that my objection to such a use of the term is not grounded on any want of faith in the grand and highly important truth, that "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God;" a truth to which no religious body has borne a clearer or more decided testimony than the Society of Friends. In these days of popery and semi-popery, we had need to be faithful in upholding this testimony, and in asserting the *essential difference*, in point of authority, between the sacred books of the Old and

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New Testament, and all the traditions of men, whether written or only handed down by word of mouth.

But I object to the common technical use of the term "the Word of God," as the name or title of the Bible, because such a use of that name has the effect of excluding, or, at least, *appearing to exclude*, all other communications to mankind. Now it is my firm conviction, that God speaks to men, that is, makes manifest his will, by the immediate influence of his Holy Spirit; and that, as the *Word of the Lord* came immediately to the prophets in the days of old, so it still comes immediately to the soul of the Christian, to direct his services, and to lead him in the path of his duty; the written words of the Lord in Scripture being at all times a test and safeguard, because we are sure that nothing which contravenes them can possibly be "of the Lord." I also think that this use of the term excludes the preaching of the Gospel, which, in primitive times, was often called the "Word of God," and which might still be called so, were it more immediately under the influence and guidance of the Holy Spirit. Above all, however, the habitual application of this name or title to the Scriptures, and to the Scriptures alone, seems to me to have a strong tendency to substitute them, as an object of reverence, for the Saviour, who is himself emphatically and pre-eminently by title, character, and indefeasible right, the Word, the Word of God, the one Mediator, through whom God creates, redeems, and *illuminates* the children of men. Thus I would refrain from calling the Scriptures the Word of God, as an emphatic and exclusive title, just as I would from denominating them the "Bread of Life;" for, although they testify of those truths which nourish and feed the soul, we must not forget that Christ himself, and Christ alone, is "*the Bread of Life.*"

Another term or phrase which I do not greatly approve or like, as I sometimes find it applied, is "Christ's *finished* work." True, indeed, it is, that when our blessed Saviour was about to expire, he cried out, "It is finished." The one all-sufficient propitiatory sacrifice was then offered, and was on the very point of being completed, so that thenceforth there was to be no more sacrifice

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for sin. But the use often made of this expression seems to me calculated to convey the idea that the whole work and office of Christ was then finished; whereas the vast process of his resurrection, ascension, and advocacy with the Father, and spiritual reign and government—the whole forming a very large proportion of the Messiah's work—was yet to be accomplished. More especially his baptizing, sanctifying work, through the immediate influences of his Spirit, is yet *unfinished*, in the church at large, and in us individually. I think it requires care not to use the expression in question so as to have such a bearing, and so as to convey the idea that we can attain to the heavenly inheritance in virtue of the one availing sacrifice for sin, (a sacrifice which is indeed for ever finished,) without the experience of that cleansing operation of Christ's Spirit, by which alone the soul is sanctified and prepared for the joys and services of a better and holier world.

In general, I would observe that this needful process of sanctification, and the doctrine of the guidance and government of the Holy Spirit, is a branch of divine truth, which, in the mind of the Christian, ought to be held in even balances with the blessed truth, that Christ is the propitiation for our sins; and that his perfect righteousness is imputed to those who livingly believe in him: so that, with reference to their past transgressions, they are, in the fullness and freeness of the mercy of God, dealt with *as if they had never sinned*. The warmest and most reverential reception of this fundamental truth does not, as I think, in the least degree, interfere with the Christian's equally deep sense of the necessity of that inward work which the Saviour has graciously *begun* in our souls, but which, as we must with all humiliation acknowledge, he has not yet FINISHED.

I had a mind to make these remarks to thee, my dear Friend, in the apprehension, however, that if there is any difference between us therein, it lies not in sentiment so much as in *mode of statement*. Yet, clearly as I see the point in question, and most painfully as I sometimes feel my own deficiencies, and surviving *seeds* and *roots* of *evil*, I rather shrink from the confusion which

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may sometimes be observed in the confessions respecting themselves, and in the addresses to their brethren, of evangelical teachers. I mean the confusion between an unfinished state of sanctification in truly converted people, and the actual sinful condition of the unregenerate.

In point of fact, I think the testimony which was borne by our early Friends, against the notion of "Sin for term of life," was thoroughly sound in principle; and that it requires a very reverent caution on our parts, lest, in the vivid sense which is sometimes given us of the lingering corruptions of our depraved hearts, we should convey to others the monstrous idea, that true Christians must and do go on sinning, even until death shall for ever terminate their appointed course of trial and probation. Certainly I have no liking for the raw and unseemly statements of the doctrine of perfection, which sometimes fall from the lips of persons who are very far from exemplifying their own sentiments. Yet I think it is our duty, unflinchingly to uphold the practical standard—even the standard of true perfection—which is presented to us in Scripture—"What the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh: that the righteousness of the law might be FULFILLED in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit." When I reflect on the place which Friends have evidently been raised up to occupy in the universal church, I consider it to be one of their most marked and distinctive, though not peculiar duties, to uphold this standard. Cause enough have we, both individually and collectively, to prostrate ourselves, in deep brokenness of spirit, before the Lord—cause enough have we, from day to day, to recur to the Fountain in which alone we can be washed from all our stains; and yet I believe it to be for a good purpose that we are, as a religious people, so much bound to the principle set forth by another apostle,—"Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin, because he is born of God."

If I am asked what I mean by "the Fountain in which alone

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we can be washed from all our stains?" I answer, without reserve and without difficulty—"the atoning blood of Christ." No sooner does transgression in word, thought, or deed, leave a stain upon our conscience, than we are left in a hopeless condition without this remedy. Never was that atonement more precious to my soul than at the present time; and I think it peculiarly important to fix it in the mind, that the blood of Christ, frequently mentioned as it is in Scripture, and which is to be sprinkled on the heart by faith, is never so mentioned as to be capable of being itself spiritualized. It is literally and truly the blood which was shed on Calvary for the sins of the whole world, and which is precisely tantamount to the Saviour's natural life, which was offered up on the cross as a sacrifice, acceptable, well-pleasing to God. According to the view of the Jews of old, the blood of the sin offering was the *life* thereof; and so it was, naturally and truly, with the Incarnate Antitype—the man Christ Jesus. In various passages of the New Testament which speak of this blood—of our drinking it—of our being sprinkled by it—of our washing our robes in it, &c.,—the metaphor lies, as I apprehend, not in the "blood," but in the drinking, sprinkling, washing, &c. Thus it is evident, that faith in the blood of Jesus is equivalent to faith in the one great offering which he has made on the cross, for the sins of all mankind; and by this faith, when it is heart-felt, living, and heaven-born, the penitent sinner is justified. His sins are forgiven, and he finds peace with God. * * *

To pass on to a subject of a very different kind, but not without its measure of practical importance, I do not think it quite true, as I have sometimes heard it stated, that an adherence to our Christian testimony, to plainness in speech, behaviour, and apparel, "is not to be confounded with the *cross* which we have to bear as followers of Christ." Certainly it is not the *whole* of that cross; but that it appertains to it, and forms an important part of its holy discipline, in our own experience, and that of our young people, I am fully persuaded. It is to me a matter of unfeigned rejoicing when any of this class are found faithful in undergoing these humiliations, and thus make manifest by that which is

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perceptible and audible, their practical allegiance to the lowly Saviour. That it is a useful mental discipline to them, I cannot doubt, as well as a truly valuable defence, so far as it goes, from many of the temptations of a vain and evil world. I am sure thou must have often observed, that obedience to the blessed teaching of the Spirit, in these matters, prepares the way for sacrifices and services of a more important character. To me it is equally evident, that many individuals who, after having once, upon principle, adopted these restraints, have since abandoned them, have thereby suffered material loss; and, notwithstanding a high profession of religion, are much more conformed in various respects *to the world* than they would have been had they continued simple, consistent Friends. But I do not forget that it is not my province to sit in judgment upon them. To our own Master we must stand or fall.

There is one point remaining on which I wish to suggest a thought or two. We have often talked on the subject of missions, and, I trust, have a good understanding of each others views respecting them. Thou art so fully aware of mine, that I have nothing more to say on the point itself, except only, that while I believe it right for Friends faithfully to occupy their own true ground in reference to missions, and not to pass over it, I do heartily appreciate the zeal and usefulness of many of our fellow-Christians in this matter, and am truly willing to aid them in their efforts, so far as I can do it *without compromise of principle*. But there is one bearing of the subject on which I am inclined to make a few remarks. It appears to me, that the surrender of our views on the subject of ministry, which we make when we support the system of ministration adopted by our fellow-Christians of other denominations, however tempting and plausible the occasions, —may, if we are not careful, re-act on our own functions as ministers of the gospel, and may take off the edge of our carefulness, not to run except we are sent, and not to speak in the name of the Lord, on any one occasion, (whether in preaching or prayer,) *without a sense of the necessity laid upon us*, and without the qualification of the Lord's own anointing. These, I trust, may not be

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useless or unacceptable watchwords from a weak yet loving friend and brother, who desires to apply the word of instruction to himself rather than others. My desire and prayer, on my own account and on thine, is that we may be enabled to fulfil our stewardship with all faithfulness; that in the exercise of our ministry we may move on safely under the *guiding*, *constraining*, *preserving*, and *sustaining* influences of the Holy Spirit; and that, being in all things conformed to the will of our Father in heaven, we may know the "peace of God which passeth all understanding," to "keep our hearts and minds through Christ Jesus."

From his Journal:—

Seventh day, [10*th mo.*, 26*th.*] On fifth day morning came the right joyful intelligence of our darling Anna's being the mother of a plump, healthy little boy. Great indeed was the relief and pleasure afforded by this good news, and I humbly trust a measure of reverent thankfulness is felt by us all, towards our Father in heaven for this fresh precious gift. * * *

Fourth day morning, [10*th mo.*, 30*th.*] On second day morning we had a very interesting and satisfactory meeting of the Athenæum Society, for which I was enabled to lay the *Christian* foundation; being fully persuaded that an acknowledgment of Christ is necessary as the ground, whether more or less openly expressed, of all efforts for the literary and intellectual improvement of mankind. In this case, the parties to be served are the young shopmen of Norwich, whose new evening hours of leisure want to be well filled up.* May preservation and protection from above be with this Institution!

11*th mo.*, 18*th.* I enjoy my daily practice of reading either the Greek or German Testament, as I pace about our ever-charming garden, before the family reading. I trust some little communion with the Lord is experienced on these occasions. This morning I have been reading Ephesians i. How wonderful is the depth and comprehensiveness of that chapter! How critical and unspeakably

* It may be explained that the tradesmen in Norwich had recently come to the resolution of closing their shops at an earlier hour than was previously the custom.

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important the question, whether I have the evidence in myself of being a partaker in that election of grace which the apostle there sets forth! Some degree of peace and satisfaction is felt this morning, in the good hope that it may be so. Blessed be our God and Father, we have, weak and poor as we are, an advocate with him.

11*th mo.*, 19*th*. I sit down once more to face myself, my own life and conversation as before the Lord, with a degree of peace and tranquillity. This feeling is the more precious, because I was, to a considerable extent, morbidly sensitive yesterday. A variety of matters of minor importance ran wrong with me, and I acted hastily on one or two occasions, without looking all round before hand. * * *

I have now corrected the last sheet of the second edition of Habit and Discipline, which must soon wend its way into the world. May it be blessed to many, without causing its author any pain!

The beloved Buxtons were here for a day and night, last third day, a truly uniting time; we feel very nearly with our sister in the pain and sorrow of her dearest husband's weak condition; yet the feeling is that nothing can harm them.

Our Monthly Meeting last week was satisfactorily attended, and very harmonious. The Lord grant that all of us who are united as Friends, in these parts, in the profession of spiritual worship, may dwell near to the Spring of truth, love, and life! and so experience the precious *oneness*, for which the Saviour prayed on behalf of his church, and which God alone can bestow.

Towards the close of the year Joseph John Gurney spent a few weeks in the neighbourhoods of London and Darlington; where, as usual, he found many objects of interest. Referring to a visit to one of the Collieries near the latter place, he writes:—

12*th mo.*, 16*th*. [We] held a useful, and, in the end, a solemn meeting with the people. Education; a library; saving money

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out of their wages; total abstinence; Scripture reading; and the keeping of the Sabbath; [were the subjects before us.] Afterwards the gospel of Christ was plainly preached. I have seldom known a day which has been more confirming to me, as it regards the religious principles which are dear to us; both the foundation of evangelical truth, and the superstructure of spiritual worship.

*Polam,** 12*th mo.*, 17*th.* This morning we have had a very interesting visit from Thomas Freeman, the African missionary, who superintends the twenty-one Wesleyan stations on the Gold Coast, and who has had much personal communication with the King of Ashantee, and some with the Kings of Dahomey, and Accan; the former a desperate slave-trader, the latter, the head of a considerable nation in the Bight of Benin, much opposed to the slave-trade, and of a city called Abbeo Kuta, containing nearly 50,000 inhabitants, discovered by Freeman. It is a great work. The Methodists have nearly 800 members in these stations, and upwards of 500 children in the schools. I have pleasure in subscribing to these schools, but I feel myself constrained to keep to the simple Quaker ground in all these matters. Surely it leaves us room enough! Yet may the Lord bless all his servants under every name!

Fourth day morning. We are now come to our last day, as far as we know, in this pleasant allotment. Last evening was held a temperance meeting at Friends' meeting-house, in which I occupied an hour or more in a speech, or lecture, which was well received, and yielded me a peaceful feeling. There was evidently a seal of divine love and power over us on the occasion; a sure token, as I believe, that we are not out of our place, or engaged in a business not acceptable to our Holy Head.

This morning, divine visitation has been with us, as I believe. After the usual morning reading of the Scriptures, I addressed the servants on the law of righteousness; and after our own more private reading, during a very uncommon solemnity, dear H. C. Backhouse addressed me in the language of encouragement,

* The residence of his relative H. C. Backhouse, near Darlington.

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to go on with all my heart, in the Lord's service, as his will, however strange and unaccountable in the view of man, may from time to time be made manifest; assuring me that eye hath not seen, nor ear heard those good things, even that peace and happiness, which are laid up in store for me (even for *me!*) on earth, and in its fulness, in heaven. She afterwards commended us to the Lord, in a brief but expressive prayer. Thus, I humbly trust, our visit to her will be blessed to our souls.

On his return home he was deeply affected by the intelligence of Sir T. F. Buxton's seriously increased illness. In allusion to it he writes in his Journal:—

12*th mo.*, 23*rd*. Nothing can be more desirable, more childlike, in the best sense of the terms, than the state of his mind. As compared with many others, he has indeed been enabled to perform a noble day's work, and now, living or dying, he is, as we fully believe, in safety and at rest in Jesus. Certainly my connection, and unfailing unity of purpose and action, with this endeared brother, have been a leading joy and happiness, as well as interest in my life. I do not remember that any cloud has ever arisen to intercept our entire harmony. May the Lord, whom he has so long and so faithfully served, be his portion for ever, saith my soul!

TO SIR THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON.

Earlham, 12th mo., 28th, 1844.

MY DEARLY BELOVED BROTHER,

"The Lord hear thee in the day of trouble, the name of the God of Jacob defend thee; send thee help from his sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion; remember all thy offerings, and accept thy burnt sacrifice; grant thee according to thine own heart, and fulfil all thy counsel."

I well remember pouring out some of the words of this Psalm to Wilberforce, just as he was about to drive off from Lord Calthorpe's door; and I afterwards learned that they were words in season, acceptable to his feelings, and applicable to his need.

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The same words sprang up in my heart for thee this morning, as I was visiting thee mentally on thy bed of sickness; and while I feel an exquisite sympathy with thee, and thy precious, ever watchful wife, on account of thy illness, I do rejoice in the persuasion that the Lord hath heard thee and her in the day of trouble, and that he does, and will marvellously help you, even by his ever sustaining arm of love and power, and the fresh daily sending forth unto you of his Holy Spirit, the Comforter.

Thou hast, my dearest Fowell, been baptized again and again with the baptism of suffering, both in bodily infirmity and weakness, and anxiety and conflict of mind, for the sorrows of the oppressed ones of the earth; but he who knows the heart, and who suffered for us, even to the death of the cross, never has laid upon thee, and never will lay upon thee, more than thou art able to bear, or more than is needful for the purification of thy soul, and the preparation of it for that unspeakable bliss, wherewith no sorrow or sickness are mingled. Surely none of the blessed inhabitants of the glorified Zion, shall ever say, "I am sick." In the perfection of health, and the fulness of peace, they are made partakers of those joys, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived.

Although thou hast been enabled to do a good and a blessed day's work in thy day, sure I am that thou canst heartily acknowledge thyself to be an unprofitable servant, and, like Wilberforce, canst confess that thou hast no plea to make but that of the publican, "God be merciful to me a sinner." And truly the word "merciful" has its meaning with thee, as it had with him; for I well remember a saying of his, that *mercy* is more than lovingkindness, it is lovingkindness towards those who deserve punishment.

To be thus humbled before the Lord is a most blessed experience, needful for us all; and one of the conditions of true peace, solid happiness, and unclouded hope. But let not any feelings of discouragement get the better of either of you. The Lord is on your side, he will help you. Because he is at your right hand,

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you shall not be moved. Trust in him at all times, pour out your hearts before him. The Saviour who bore the thorn, the nail, the cross; and whose inmost soul was "exceeding sorrowful" when the sins of the whole world rested upon him, does, and ever will sympathize with his faithful followers, and will, in his own good time and way, arise upon them with "healing in his wings."

So fare thee well, my dearest Buxton. Grace, mercy, and peace, be with thee and thine now and for ever.

I am, thy nearly attached brother,

J. J. GURNEY.

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CHAPTER XLV.

1845. ÆT. 57—58.

EXTRACTS FROM JOURNAL; DEATH OF SIR T. F. BUXTON; PUBLIC MEETING ON THE ENDOWMENT OF MAYNOOTH; LETTER TO DR. CHALMERS ON THE DUTY OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES IN RELATION TO SLAVERY; JOURNEY IN SCOTLAND AND THE NORTH OF ENGLAND; DEATH OF ELIZABETH FRY.

On commencing another year, Joseph John Gurney writes:—

1*st mo.*, 1*st*, 1845. The new year has set in, and finds me quietly at home, and peaceful, I trust on good grounds, for I can truly say, that my tranquillity is founded on the merits of Jesus Christ. Yet I think that there is also in some measure, the feeling of, "If our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God;" for I believe it has been my endeavour, during the past year, though not always successfully, to keep a conscience void of offence in the sight of God and man. Yet perhaps I am presumptuous in saying so much. The Lord only knows the depth of my infirmities.

1*st mo.*, 27*th*. The meetings yesterday were, to my feelings, very solemn and edifying. William Forster preached largely in the morning on the Law of Righteousness: it was a moving, heart-stirring appeal. In the afternoon I was engaged in vocal prayer. After the meeting was over, I retired alone into the little library room, and found vent for the tears of a broken spirit, to my own relief and comfort.

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TO TWO FRIENDS

(In the decline of life.)

Earlham, 2nd mo., 2nd, 1845.

My beloved Friends,

At the close of a quiet and solemn first day, my heart turns towards you in Christian affection and friendship. I believe you have both had your deep tribulations since we last met. * * * Thus it often happens, in the economy of grace, that those who have made the most considerable advances in the school of Christ, have the hardest lessons to learn. But you know already, and will know more and more perfectly, how to speak well of his name; even of that blessed name of Jesus, than which no other is given among men, whereby they may be saved! O the large and deep meaning of that word *saved!* What tongue can tell it? Surely "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what God hath prepared for them that love him."

From the peaceful yet affecting account which we have this day received of our mutually dear friend A. R. Barclay, we are ready to conclude that if not already a partaker of this inconceivable weight of glory, he is on the verge of it. Thus one after another is plucked away out of our ranks, and we are left to feel the depths of our poverty. But O how far better to be removed from the church militant by the hand of death, than to lose our part in it through unwatchfulness and disobedience! I feel well assured that this will never be the case with either of you; may it never, never be the case with me! Do we not know assuredly who it is, that is both able and willing to keep us from falling? * * *

Are there not brighter times in prospect for our down-trodden religious society, though some of us, with silvery locks, may not live to witness them? I believe there are; or at any rate, that those spiritual views which have long distinguished us as a body, will spread more and more among the children of men.

In this sweet hope and expectation I bid you farewell. My dearest wife unites with me in very dear love to you both.

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Grace, mercy, and peace, be with you and your children, and your children's children, from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

In allusion to the re-publication, with his name for the first time attached to it, of his work on the Papal and Hierarchical System, he says, under date

2nd mo., 19*th*. The times are certainly portentous, marking, as I think, very awfully, the increasing strength and volume of the stream, which is bearing [many] back again into the vortex of Popery. In the meantime, there can be no doubt, that pure and vital truth is spreading; and although our own society, which is the very opposite to Popery, is reduced and somewhat scattered, the great principles which it professes, are, I hope, increasingly appreciated by not a few. It is in a degree of faith, and with the apprehension of its being a sacrifice required of me, yet not without some fear of the battery which it may bring upon me, that I now put forth my testimony. May the blessing of the Lord God Almighty rest upon it, for his truth's sake, and for his dear Son's sake!

Under the same date, referring to some efforts on behalf of the population of Norwich, he continues:—

I have had three committees to attend, of our new society for the protection of young females; some difficulties surmounted, and some trouble endured. I have a little hope that good may be done, as I think that we have had somewhat of a divine sanction in the preparatory steps. Out of these committees sprang several meetings, and a rendezvous of about twenty-five gentlemen at breakfast, last second day, to discuss the state of the manufacturing poor at Norwich. It was a very interesting occasion. At the reading I selected many passages respecting our duties to the poor, and was afterwards engaged in prayer. The conversation after breakfast lasted till one o'clock. The clear result is, that our labour market is overstocked; the distress and

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immorality thereby occasioned are terrible. The remedy is the lightening of that market, or the sopping up of the surplus, by fresh manufacturing and commercial enterprize; (and I would also work at the other end, by sending many young men away;) a committee was appointed, and I hope good will be done; at any rate many minds have been deeply interested.*

The following are Joseph John Gurney's brief but touching memoranda of his last visit to his beloved brother-in-law, Sir T. F. Buxton, whose health had been, for some time past, rapidly declining:—

2nd mo., 19*th.* Last week we were at Northrepps, from third day to sixth; and deeply interesting was it to be with them, and to unite for a season in watching the sick, probably the dying bed of our beloved and honoured brother. His reduction of strength and tendency to torpor are great, but we witnessed nothing which could fairly be called bodily suffering; and as to his mind, his sweetness, amiability, cheerfulness, and good humour, notwithstanding much of occasional wandering, are really delightful; especially as it is accompanied by a lively sense of, and firm hold on, the love of God in Christ Jesus. When his wife expressed her conviction that he had this firm hold even on Christ himself, he answered, "Yes, indeed I have, unto eternal life." Many delightful little peeps of this kind, of the Sun of Righteousness, through the clouds of bodily infirmity, have been graciously bestowed. He was much himself on sixth day morning, when we took our leave, clasping my hand, and seeming to enjoy my standing by his bedside. I reminded him of the declaration, that —"eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive the good things the Lord hath in store for those that love Him," expressing my firm belief that these joys were assuredly laid up for him—even for him. His whole soul

* On this occasion Joseph John Gurney placed £1000 in the hands of the committee, to be disposed of, under their superintendence, for the benefit of the poor, in the way of providing employment, &c.

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seemed to respond to me. This, probably, may be my last interview with one whom I have greatly loved, esteemed, and admired for nearly half a century; and between whom and myself there has never, as far as I remember, passed a single cloud, and scarcely the shadow of one. I have the satisfaction of knowing that I have uniformly encouraged him, and backed him up in his great objects; and near and dear has been our affection for each other. We feel a true rest respecting him, being assured that he is indeed safe in the holy hands of his Lord for time and eternity; and many, in generations yet to come, shall call him blessed for his work's sake.

We were favoured with a comfortable Sabbath last first day; but I have, at times, during the days which I have now in part described, felt that I have much cause for a low view of myself; shall I say for self-abhorrence and humiliation before the Lord?

Thus every door is shut, but one,
And that is *mercy's* door.

2nd mo., 22*nd*. Early on fifth day morning we received, by a special messenger, the tidings of the death of our dearest brother. He was seized with spasm on his breath, which lasted for an hour or two, during which he was much engaged in prayer. For a time he was happily relieved, and then fell asleep, to wake no more, sinking gradually, softly, and in the end imperceptibly, into death; gently dealt with to the last—a death of perfect quietness and peace. So fell the forest oak, but truly without a crash, never to be replaced in this world; for men in general are but saplings in comparison. "It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good."

Our dear friend Josiah Forster arrived by coach the same morning, and we all went quietly to meeting together. It was, I thought, a refreshing, sustaining time of reverent waiting on the Lord and prayer; something of that retirement of soul which dearest Fowell himself used to call "divine silence." After an early dinner, my dearest wife and I, and Anna Forster, (the only survivor of that dear, delightful family,) went to Northrepps. Our meeting was truly affecting; but the grief into which we

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came was natural, and we spent a comforting evening with them. In the course of a very precious family sitting, I was much engaged in thanksgiving and prayer, recounting the characteristic points in the life and experience of our beloved departed one.

We lodged at Northrepps Cottage; and on sixth day morning I wrote an account of all that we had witnessed in our two visits, which I read to the assembled family; and we left them comforted, and returned home. Mournfulness was much my portion in the night; [yet] surely I ought to feel, at this time, the force of the precept—"In everything give thanks." May I be enabled to do so, and to commend my soul to that gracious and all-wise Creator, who will not, as I humbly believe, cast me away from his presence, weak and unworthy as I am, or take his Holy Spirit from me!

A few days after this event, Joseph John Gurney penned the warm and affectionate tribute to the memory of his deceased brother-in-law, which was subsequently published and widely circulated.* The void occasioned by his death was one not to be forgotten.

2nd mo., 24th. Yesterday was to me a low calm. In the afternoon meeting, near its close, I had to remark how vain were our own attempts in affliction to comfort ourselves. Our untutored efforts only leave us colder and more sorrowful than before. But when the Lord gives us a taste of the true rest, and a glimpse of the delightsome land where there is no more sorrow, the soul is stayed on him, and finds a sure shelter. Somewhat of this blessed stayedness, this sweet shelter, has, I hope, been experienced; but in the night, weakness prevailed. I have, indeed, lost a most faithful friend, who has handed me many a cup of support and encouragement. May I imitate his cheerful, playful spirit, so far as the truth leads into it!

3rd mo., 24th. My dear sister Fry's visit has been very satisfactory, and very sweet has it been to our feelings to enjoy her

* See the Brief Memoir of Sir T. F. Buxton.

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company. Her infirmity is indeed great, and her memory a little failing. Yet at times this infirmity subsides, and she is much like her own dear and precious self. The Lord's anointing is still upon her, and she has been well engaged in our meeting, which is held at eleven o'clock, on her account, and which she has attended two first day mornings in succession. The preserving, sustaining hand of the Lord is evidently with her. Dear John and Anna's visit, with their lovely boy, has been a pleasure and comfort. It is an unspeakable favour that they are so well, and every way flourishing. The Lord bless and keep our precious grandchild, and sanctify him from his earliest years, for his own use and service!

3rd mo., 31*st*. No small weakness of mind, with languor of body, hangs about me to-day; but I must bear it quietly. The weather is delicious, and we may repose, I trust, on the bosom of divine love. May it please thee, gracious Lord, to deliver me from all corruption, from all the power of my soul's enemy, from all the remains and vestiges of the kingdom of darkness; and give me grace to follow the Lord Jesus, in the obedience of faith, until I at length obtain the crown of righteousness, which shall never fade away!

4th mo., 6*th*. I have been a good deal troubled, in reading the greater part of a work, lately published and rapidly circulated, called "Vestiges of the Natural History of the Creation." The author first describes the Nebular hypothesis; then the geological history of the earth's crust; then the progressive development of organized creatures, vegetable and animal; the latter series ending in man. He then discusses the phenomena of mind, which he ascribes simply and solely to material organism, under the agency of the electric fluid. The brain, a galvanic battery; thought, the mere effect of electricity. The system embraces the whole jargon of phrenology, and utterly undermines all moral responsibility, and all that is essential to the highest destinies of man. I had not finished it before I discovered that there is no fear of God before the eyes of the unknown author. I have since been greatly pleased and relieved, by a perusal and re-perusal of an admirable

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letter from Professor Sedgwick on the subject, addressed to Captain Stanley. It is a masterly knocking to pieces of the whole affair. Sedgwick, however, as well as Stanley, is a believer in the Nebular Theory, to which I have myself no particular objection. But it does not seem to flourish under the grasp of Lord Rosse's telescope, which has already resolved a large proportion of the nebulæ into stars.

I have been writing an answer to the question in the Christian Observer, "What is Quakerism?" which the editor, in his last number, promises to insert in his next. I have ventured to assert that the Society, in various ways and forms, has declared its faith in all the main doctrines of sound Christianity which I have enumerated; but that one of these doctrines, viz., the guidance and government of the Spirit, is held by us more extensively and exactly than by many others; and that on this ground we have been led to abstain—First, from ceremonies, and the notion of sacramental efficacy in forms. Secondly, from a ministry ordained by man. Thirdly, from the pecuniary remuneration of ministers. Fourthly, from oaths. Fifthly, from war. Sixthly, from worldly amusements, useless fashions in dress and furniture, and corruptions in speech and behaviour. Thus I take Quakerism to be the religion of the New Testament, without addition, without diminution, and without compromise. I hope the paper may be accepted by others, and by our own people, in a friendly spirit; and that it may, through mercy, have a blessing on it.

4th mo., 14*th*. Our tenderly beloved sister Fry, with Catherine and her servants, left our door a little before two o'clock, for Runcton, in the feeling of peace, and with a mutually happy retrospect of her endearing visit. She came back from Northreppe last sixth day, and was remarkably well that evening and yesterday evening, when Edward Edwards and his daughter dined with us very pleasantly. We all enjoyed the renewal of our old friendship. E. Edwards is now in his eightieth year. Yesterday was really a favoured Sabbath. My dear sister was at the afternoon meeting, and took a striking leave of us. I was also engaged in speaking on "the rest which remaineth for the people of God." She was

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very poorly on her return home; but attended our evening reading, and ministered acceptably to a very large company. May she be brought on her way with peace and safety!

The proposition of the late Sir Robert Peel's Government, for substituting a permanent endowment for the Grant which had been annually made by parliament for the support of the Roman Catholic College at Maynooth in Ireland, was now claiming a large share of public attention. As a staunch advocate of civil and religious liberty, it was with pain that Joseph John Gurney felt himself called upon to take part in the movement against it. In his Journal he thus explains his views:—

4th mo., 19*th*. I have accepted the chairmanship of a meeting to be held next week, of Protestants, without distinction, to oppose the endowment of the Romish College of Maynooth for educating the priesthood. The endowment is whiggish, popular, except with the religious public, and apparently politic as a matter of conciliation, which the body of Papists in Ireland seem ready to accept: it is understood to be the first step to the national paying of their ministers. Cordially as I approve of civil and religious liberty, and of the Roman Catholics being partakers of it with others, I consider that the proposed measure goes far beyond this line; and, in rendering it compulsory on Protestants to support an ecclesiastical system which they disapprove, directly interferes with their rights of conscience, and thus cramps and impairs that fabric of freedom which it professes to promote. As I could not voluntarily subscribe to such an institution, so I cannot acquiesce in being taxed for the purpose, without an open avowal that I object to it on principle. The subject is to be taken up simply on the Protestant ground, without arguing the objections which Dissenters entertain to all national religious establishments, and which Friends entertain to all seminaries for the purpose of educating the ministers of the gospel. Without concealing my own sentiments as a Friend, I feel myself to be at liberty to unite

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with Dissenters and Churchmen in opposing the compulsory support of a principle which lies at the root of Popery, and is surely taught in all her institutions for ecclesiastical instruction; and which is now diffusing itself among many who do not at present call themselves Roman Catholics: I mean the addition to Scripture, as an authorized standard of doctrine and practice, of uninspired written and oral tradition. Surely no worldly policy, no complaisance and liberality, can justify us as a nation, in taking an active part in the upholding of this principle; fraught as it is with unutterable danger to the moral and religious welfare of mankind. I think this principle is firmly held by the most educated and polished, as well as by the more ignorant and vulgar of the papists; and in bestowing a polished education on the Irish priests, we shall not in any degree dislodge them from this, to them, *articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ;* but only add to the force and influence by which they propagate it in the world.

4th mo., 27th. The meeting, anti-Maynooth, last fourth day evening, was very large; about 3000 persons present, and passed off well. I endeavoured to lay down the true order of the meeting at the commencement, and all was afterwards very fairly kept within its limits. We all united on the Protestant ground, of the Bible and the Bible only:—not without the Spirit; but without the addition of human traditions. Much may be said for the measure on the ground of policy, but the religious objections must continue untouched and untangible. First, the Quaker's objection to all human systems of education for the ministry of the gospel. Secondly, the Nonconformist's objection to all national endowments of particular forms of religion. Thirdly, the Protestant's objection to the addition of tradition to Scripture, as a ground of doctrine.

"Surely," says an eye-witness, "no one who was present can forget the energy and earnestness of his appeal, or the deep and absorbing interest with which it was heard and responded to; still less can they forget the marked solemnity which reigned, as he concluded with the fervent desire that

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the banner of the Lord might be over them, even the banner of *love*, impressively repeating a few sentences on Christian unity, from that book, for whose unmixed and sacred records he had just been pleading."*

TO DR. CHALMERS,

(In reply to a letter of inquiry on several points connected with the question of Slavery in the United States.)

Earlham, 4th mo., 30th, 1845.

* * * So much for family histories.—Now for an answer to thy inquiries. My mission to North America, which continued three years, (including a few months spent in the West Indies,) was distinctly of a religious nature—a visit in the capacity of a minister of the gospel, to our own Society in that land; with the further object of holding meetings for divine worship with persons of other denominations. This object so absorbed both time and mind that it was out of my power to attend meetings of a simply philanthropic character, or to hold much communication with the friends of the anti-slavery cause as such. My intercourse with the Americans on this subject was almost entirely confined to *Friends;* except that, after my return from the West Indies, I spent several days at Washington, for the express purpose of explaining, to the members of the Government and of Congress, the admirable effects of emancipation in the British Colonies. All these communications were in private, and were well received, both by slave-holders and by the citizens of the Free States. Thus, my dear friend, thou wilt perceive that I was so circumstanced in America as not to be exposed to any interference on the part of the warm and zealous advocates of abolition; and, with the exception of an article or two in a Boston newspaper, complaining of my not taking a public and more active part, (which my circumstances rendered impossible,) I am not aware that anything was said or done by the Abolitionists to molest or disturb me.

* The verses quoted were Psalm cxxxiii, 1, 2.

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All that I could do in the meetings of Friends to promote that great cause, I did:—the subject being frequently discussed in their assemblies for discipline—and I also did my very best with the rulers and legislators of the land. But further than this I had no opportunity of going; and, had I attempted it, it would have interfered immediately and most seriously with my *Gospel mission;* which was intended for the benefit of all, whether they did or did not agree with me on the subject of slavery.

In the course of my journey in the Southern States, and more particularly in the Danish West Indies, I certainly did meet with some slave-holders who appeared to me to be persons of considerable piety; but these were generally individuals, who would have been extremely glad to escape from the system, with which they were connected, had they considered it to be within their power. Generally speaking, it was very evident that slavery operated most unfavourably both on religion and morals.

Friends in America have long been acting on the principle that slave-holding disqualifies for membership in religious society; and they have never had cause to regret their adoption of this principle. *It appears to me most desirable that it should be adopted by other religious communities in America.* If it were so, the evil would soon cease; and in that case there is every reason to believe that Christianity, as well as the cause of liberty and humanity, would flourish much more abundantly than they do at present.

I have just thrown before thee the state of the case as it regards myself, and the views which I entertain of the right course for religious bodies in reference to the subject; and earnestly desire that thou mayest be enabled, in thy own church, to promote the great cause of the abolition of slavery, at the same time that you repudiate the interference of others.

5th mo., 2nd.

I have retained my letter for a day or two, waiting the leisure for making a small addition to it; as I wish, with every feeling of deference, somewhat further to explain my own views on the subject in question. I must, then, confess that I do *not* think it is

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out of the right province of the Anti-Slavery Society, either in America or in England, to watch the proceedings of churches, any more than those of individuals, in reference to slavery. The progress of the cause of abolition, which it is *their business* to do all in their power to promote, (consistently with the rule of right, of course,) so very much depends on the conduct of Christian bodies, as well as on that of statesmen and governments, that the Anti-Slavery Committees would, in my opinion, be wanting in their duty, did they not appeal to such bodies, as occasion may require, in favour of their cause.

On this ground they have unceasingly urged on the several denominations of Christians, in America, the propriety of their adopting the principle on which *Friends* have so long acted—namely, that no slave-holder should be accepted or retained as a member of the *church*. Provided that they keep within the bounds of propriety and respect in their way of doing it, I cannot think the anti-slavery body is at fault in making their public appeal *on this point* to all the churches of Christ.

Most true it is that no Christians can be required to "out-run the light" of their own minds, on this or any other topic. Light is, indeed, progressive, and time was when the Friends in America held slaves like other people. But, in the present day, the horrid abuses inseparable from the system of slavery are so perfectly well known—for example, the cruel use of the whip in the place of the wholesome stimulus of wages; the utter degradation of females; the sale at auction of human beings as if they had no souls, and were mere chattels, or at most cattle; and the consequent arbitrary separation of families, and tearing asunder of the nearest ties of life—that I cannot think any Christian professor can be regarded as excusable, or fit for the brotherhood of the church, who voluntarily continues to take a part in the maintenance of so nefarious a system.

To pursue the subject further—it does not appear to me that we are at liberty, as Christians, to receive the subscriptions of slave-holders towards the maintenance of our respective churches; or, indeed, for any religious or philanthropic purpose, or, perhaps,

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I might rightly say for any purpose whatsoever. After much reflection I am brought to this conclusion, on the simple ground that the money which we receive from them is, to a considerable extent, and almost of necessity, the price of blood; and furthermore, can hardly be considered in the divine sight to be *their own*, until the wages, rightfully due to the poor labourers on their estates, have been fully discharged.

I cannot doubt, my much-esteemed friend, that thou wilt bear with me in having thus thrown my whole view on the point at issue before thee. Should'st thou, on further consideration, be led to adopt the same view, it will be greatly to the comfort of thy warm and steady friends, who well know how to appreciate thy faithfulness and zeal in every good word and work.

From his Journal:—

5th mo., 9*th*. [In allusion to a communication in ministry;] I wish to draw instruction from all the ministry I hear—I do desire to be effectually searched and cleansed; and never to forget that gifts, administrations, operations, are not only various, but diverse; yet only one Spirit, one Lord, one God, who worketh all in all. In the meantime may I be graciously enabled to abide in the truth; a living, fruitful branch in Christ the Vine, more and more divested of self-love, self-seeking, and undue self-indulgence! Lord, perfect the work in me for Jesus Christ's sake.

N.B.—Recipe for the ensuing Yearly Meeting. A quiet, patient mind, free from all anxieties; a cheerful spirit; a dwelling in the truth, near to the fountain of the waters of life; love to God and man; a watchful walking in the fear of the Lord; a constant guard over the lips, and a reverent, uninterrupted dependence on the great Head of the Church.

5th mo., 14*th*. Yesterday John Henry and I attended the funeral of my long respected friend and Christian brother H. J. Balls, our head clerk. My last interview with him was of a very satisfactory kind, as regarded the state of his mind. He seemed

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perfectly happy, rejoicing in the Lord, who had made with him "an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things and sure." John Alexander conducted the "service," at the Old Independent meeting-house. I went in with my hat on; quietly kept my seat until he had finished, and then rose and bore my testimony to his truly Christian character. The large assembly of his friends and neighbours seemed much affected. He was buried in the "Rosary." There was a precious solemnity to be felt at the grave. I was engaged beside it in vocal thanksgiving and prayer.

6th mo., 14th. We left home for the Yearly Meeting on sixth day, 5th mo., 16th, and met the usual warm reception at Upton. Seventh day, 17th, anti-slavery meeting at the Hall of Commerce, over which I presided, and felt satisfaction in so doing. It was a spirited occasion. William Knibb gave a sad detail of continued oppressions in Jamaica.

Second day, 19th, large and satisfactory meeting of ministers and elders. Vast and respectable temperance meeting in the evening, at Exeter Hall; over which I presided, and at which I spoke, harmlessly, I trust.

Third day, 5th mo., 20th. Dined pleasantly at Dr. Lushington's, where we met Duc de Broglie, Sir T. D. Ackland, and the Bunsens. They seemed in good spirits about the Anti-slave-trade Convention, which has since been completed and signed; the substance of it being the giving up of the right of search, not of visit, between France and England; and the union of the two nations in blockading the western coast of Africa, from Cape Verd, north, to lat. 16½ south. I could not myself take part in the system of armed cruisers.

Fourth day, 5th mo., 21st. Comfortable commencement of the Yearly Meeting; which lasted until seventh day, the 31st; and may, I think, be described as large, lively, and harmonious. The greatest point of interest was the concern of the Yearly Meeting towards Indiana, in reference to the late anti-slavery separation there; issuing in a deputation of several of our valued brethren to present an expostulatory address:—William and Josiah Forster,

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George Stacey, John Allen, and Joseph Bewley. I was on the sub-committee, appointed to prepare this address; and I never witnessed a more remarkable unfolding of religious exercise, than that by which these our friends were gradually brought into harness. It was truly an apostolic proceeding; and deeply solemn and affecting were the large sittings of the Yearly Meeting in which the concern was fully settled, and the nomination accepted and confirmed. These beloved brethren will indeed go forth with the hands of the church upon them, and may the Great Head of the church bless them in their work! The meetings for worship at Devonshire House were much crowded; and were, on the whole, highly favoured times. I had some share of the work in the latter meeting; I humbly believe in deepening waters as I went forward.

During the summer he was engaged, in company with his wife, in an extended religious visit to Friends and others in Scotland and the North of England. They left home on the 3rd of the seventh month.

TO ELIZABETH FRY.

Manchester, 7th mo., 13th, 1845.

MY BELOVED SISTER,

I have been much wishing to write to thee to tell thee of our progress, which has been hitherto very satisfactory. Our first day at Liverpool was one of much interest to us. Friends were warm and kind, and the public meeting was larger than any known for some years past. On second day we enjoyed a quiet journey to Llangollen, and lodged there in the midst of delightful scenery, proceeding next day to Coalbrookdale. The valleys of the Dee and Severn are highly beautiful. What a delightsome land do we live in! O that its inhabitants were more devoted to the service of that glorious Creator who has given so many of them all things richly to enjoy!

Our two days at the Dale, including the General Meeting for Wales, &c., were also satisfactory; and we were again graciously favoured with evidence that we were in our right place. Barnard

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Dickenson was our kind and hospitable entertainer. On our return northward, we held public meetings at Shrewsbury and Chester—small but solemn; G. and M. Crosfield kindly coming to meet us at the latter place. We are now in the midst of a truly exercising day at Manchester; and, after a morning meeting of an interesting kind, are looking towards a public meeting this evening. I greatly feel the weight of the engagement, but consider it cause for much thankfulness that I am again permitted to have a part in it.

TO WILLIAM FORSTER,

(then engaged in religious service in Normandy, &c.)

Yealand, 7th mo., 19th, 1845.

* * * We are now in possession of a very interesting account of thee and thy companions as far as Chalons, in which we cordially rejoice, and fully trust that thy way may be [yet] open for America. The Lord is still able and willing to work for thee, so that notwithstanding all infirmities thou wilt know it to be given to thee "always to triumph in Christ."

We may gratefully confess that we have been permitted, however far behind thee, to be sharers in some little measure of the same experience. * * * May we not, in all humility and gratitude, say, "If God be for us, who can be against us?" That He is for and with thee, and thy companions, I have no doubt. May He bring you safely home! Many be the seals to thy ministry, and abundant thy sheaves of peace!

From his Journal, under date 9th mo., 12th:—

The remainder of the week, [after the first day at Manchester,] was spent in holding meetings in Lancashire. Third day evening with the Egerton work-people. At Bolton, with Friends, the next morning. A full public meeting at the theatre at Preston, in the evening; and with Friends again on fifth day morning; a precious little church in that place. So also at Lancaster; where we had a peculiarly solemn public meeting on fifth day evening, and with Friends on sixth day morning.

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Sixth day evening, comforting public meeting at the beautiful Yealand; entertained by William Waithman; called on the widow Ford, &c., &c. Seventh day afternoon, meeting with William Waithman's work-people; and in the evening arrived at Isaac Braithwaite's, Kendal. There we passed two interesting days, receiving abundant kindness. The relic of our church there is larger than we expected. The public meeting in the evening not very large, but, on the whole, satisfactory—The resurrection of Christ, and its consequences, much before me.

On third day, (Seventh mo.. 22nd,) to Ulverstone. Dined at Newby Bridge; delicious view from the summit of a high hill behind the inn. Windermere spread before us in her glory. Well attended, and to me relieving, public meeting at Ulverstone. Visited Swarthmore Hall, the residence, [in former days,] of an eminent servant of the Lord; afterwards a good meeting with Friends and others, in the Old Meeting-house, endowed by George Fox. How wonderfully are times changed! that once large and persecuted society, has left, in many places, a poor, broken, and peeled remnant, and settled on its lees. There are, however, a few exercised minds still belonging to Swarthmore; and surely we have more than a few in many other places. Everywhere we may say where Friends yet congregate, there is a living remnant. This is a mercy; and the hope of better and brighter things often arises.

On our way from Ulverstone to Ambleside, we drove along the banks of Coniston water, a charming lake indeed; and at Hawkshead called on Hannah Brugg, a widow of ninety-four years, I believe, clear in her understanding, and very sweet and tender in spirit. Her husband, who lately died, is said to have been the like; a pair honoured for the truth's sake. We find the Zacharias, the Elizabeths, and Annas, of Scripture, here and there amongst us, in what the engravers call the *vera effigies*. I do not think that a green old age is so conspicuous under any other administration. Kindly received at John Crosfield's lovely abode, near Ambleside, in which picturesque village we held a solemn public meeting that evening. Fifth day, happily

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spent amidst some of nature's fairest scenes. Langdale Pikes, Grasmere; (O what a peerless view of it from the hill!) Rydal, William Ball's "Paradise of the Lakes." After dinner, over a mountain pass to Patterdale, where we lodged, after an evening drive along the delightful banks of Ulleswater. Called that day on William Wordsworth, now the aged poet laureate, and had a good religious opportunity with him and his family, in which simple and sound Christianity was declared, as we afterwards found, to his satisfaction.*

On sixth day, (7th mo., 25th,) early from Patterdale to the Monthly Meeting, at Colthouse, near Hawkshead; a good time with dear country Friends. Another call on Hannah Bragg; and then a beautiful drive to Keswick where we held a public meeting, to our relief, in the Methodist meeting-house, late that evening. Seventh day morning spent in viewing Borrowdale and Derwentwater; the latter charming indeed. After an early dinner, a long stage over the mountains, by Buttermere and Crummock, to the secluded little inn at Scale hill, where we lodged.

First day, (7th mo., 27th,) to Pardshaw meeting; large and very interesting. After an excellent public meeting, lodged at Greysouthen, the pleasant residence of J. W. and Mary Fletcher. The following night we lodged at Broughton, after an excellent public meeting there. Then followed a series of meetings with Friends and the public, at Cockermouth, Whitehaven, Maryport, and Allonby; and so, on seventh day to Carlisle: a truly pleasant and substantially encouraging week. The Society pretty strong and lively, and very friendly towards ourselves. At Carlisle, dearest Anna and her husband and child, with our sister Rachel Fowler, met us to our great comfort.

First day (8th mo., 3rd,) at Carlisle. Close ministry at meeting

* Joseph John Gurney hesitated to call on Wordsworth, fearing his call might be deemed an intrusion; but was at last constrained to make it, by a sense of religious duty. A gentleman who saw the poet shortly afterwards, informed him that Wordsworth had spoken gratefully of the visit, adding, with much warmth of feeling, "And who am I, that a prophet should be sent to my dwelling?"—*Note by E. P. Gurney.*

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in the morning; good public one in the evening. Second day; held a comfortable, though not crowded, public meeting at Scotby in the evening. Much unity with Friends. Third day to Wigton; the day satisfactorily spent at the school; a relieving public meeting in the evening; return to Carlisle, where we parted from the beloved Darlington party, and quietly posted off by Gretna, &c. to Beatock bridge, in Scotland, where we found a quiet abode for the night. Fifth day, at Moffat; visit to the springs; large public meeting in the evening, much to our comfort. Seventh day, to Glasgow, where we spent nearly three days. On first day, (8th mo., 10th,) lively meeting with the little body of Friends in the morning; large public meeting in the City Hall in the evening. Spiritual Christianity openly declared. Second day, visited the Bridewell; pretty satisfactory; interesting select meeting with two ministers and one elder. Third day morning. Two months' meeting, an excellent time. Fourth day, one of quiet travelling and sweet scenery; Callendar, the Trosacks, Loch Katrine, &c.; then by a mountain defile to the exquisitely pretty Killin, where we lodged. Nothing can be more decent than the appearance of the country people in all this district. In every little town the free Kirk-house lifts its head; rivalling its "residuary" opponent. The movement is a wonderful one; about 800 congregations; a college; endowments for more than 600 ministers; £750,000 already raised; £150,000 more in progress, for manses. Chalmers calls it the "Popular Endowment." An evidence of the power of the voluntary principle, when ably worked. I trust it is for good; for the diffusion of evangelical truth; and for the stirring up of many. Yet there is some strife in it; and much of the highest church principle in claiming the support of the State, without submitting to any of its interference. What a busy bustler on this motley scene is man; and what an awful thought, that every individual has an immortal soul, to be saved or lost for ever! Lord, give us grace, we beseech thee, to lay firm hold on the Saviour, and to walk watchfully in the way of holiness—ever sowing to the Spirit, that we may of the Spirit reap life everlasting! * * *

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First day, (8th mo., 17th,) at Aberdeen. Large and excellent public meeting in the evening. Second day, General meeting; lively and encouraging season; Friends much united. Third day, to Kinmuck; a day of sunshine and pure air, and pleasant communication with simple-hearted Friends; and two satisfactory meetings. Blessed be the name of him who pours forth of his holy oil, as, and when, he pleases! Drank tea with Amos and Barbara Wigham; the former paralyzed, and a truly patient sufferer; the latter his ever assiduous nurse.

Fourth day returned to Aberdeen, and, after an early dinner, journeyed to Brechin, where we lodged. Fifth day to Perth; large public meeting at the City Hall; a good time. All these large public meetings were preceded by very deep exercise, and even painful baptism, which, I believe, corresponded with the degree of divine favour graciously manifested in the meetings themselves; in which, as I humbly trust, I was enabled to declare the whole truth as it is in Jesus. Sixth day, pleasant journey by Loch Leven, crossing the Forth at Queensferry, to Edinburgh, where we spent a truly agreeable three days. On seventh day we called on Dr. Greville; and on Dr. Chalmers and his wife, in their new country house. They received us gladly, and truly pleasant it was to see him again. His body and mind are yet vigorous, and he was as simple-hearted, cordial, and joyous in spirit as ever; full of the Free Church, and full enough inclined, it may be, to triumph over the "residuaries."

[After a first day "of much interest" at Edinburgh,] we reached our quarters at Blackwell on fourth day afternoon, before the return of the beloved master and mistress from Shull. There we passed a few truly peaceful and pleasant days.

First day (8th mo., 31st) was spent at Newcastle, where a public meeting had been appointed for the evening; a very satisfactory day, though deep lowness was my portion until the evening meeting, which was inexpressibly relieving; the Salem meeting-house being well and respectably filled on the occasion. I trust I was enabled, in some good measure, to baptize the hearers

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into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

On third day morning (9th mo., 2nd) we left Blackwell, and travelled by railroad to Birmingham. There we spent fourth day; meeting with Friends in the morning; very full and truly encouraging. In the evening a meeting for worship with more than 2000 people, at John Angell James's Chapel, [when] the last chapter of Revelation was much before me. This meeting crowned and concluded our whole service, and left us clear, without a feather's weight upon our minds.* O how great is the compassion of Israel's Shepherd who went before us, throughout this journey, and was our rere-ward: yea was, and is, "our exceeding great reward!"

Earlham, 9th mo., 20th. We have received pleasant and interesting calls from Samuel Wilberforce Dean of Westminster,† also from Sir T. D. and Lady Ackland and their family. I called on Lord Lansdowne, at the Bishop's, and met with a kind and cordial reception from him and the circle there collected. It was the Musical Festival which drew them hither. What a happiness it is, that we and ours are sheltered from this species of worldly amusement. I cannot think that it is right for any serious people to patronize displays of sacred music, mixed up with balls and concerts, and uttered so generally by profane and ungodly lips.

9th mo., 29th. More than three weeks have now elapsed since our return home. It has been a time of a good deal of enjoyment, and fraught with some lively interest. At the same time, it would be very satisfactory to my feelings, were I more engaged,

* Of this meeting John Angell James writes, in a note received from him whilst the first edition was passing through the press:—"We felt on that occasion as we feel on some others, that there is a bond of union between the true followers of Christ, which lies deeper than that of denominational connexions, and which these, however they appear to separate us, cannot sever, and do not always disturb. The sheep of Christ know the Shepherd's voice, through whatever organ it may come to them; and it was heard at that time, when our friend spoke to us of justification by faith, too distinctly to be misunderstood, and too impressively to be unheeded."

† Now Bishop of Oxford.

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in my home life, in doing good to others. Much peace is permitted in the retrospect of our late journey, but a very indulgent life is now my portion; and, from a considerable degree of bodily infirmity and other circumstances, I seem to be much more useless than a Christian might desire to be. The great matter is, to dwell near in spirit to him, who is himself the spring of all good, and to endeavour, in humility and watchfulness, to follow his counsel in all things.

Soon after my return home, I had, in unison with some others, to attend at the Mayor's office, in order to appeal to the magistrates on behalf of our "Society for the Protection of Young Females," against licensing public houses of notoriously "ill fame." I hope some good effect may be produced. It appears to me a dangerous doctrine that the civil power ought never to interfere with the morals of the community. Although the civil power cannot lawfully interfere with conscience, in matters of religion, or so far meddle with the concerns of the kingdom of Christ, as to establish or endow a particular form of worship, it may surely be exerted, on the most unrestricted principles of religious liberty, for the purpose of maintaining the good order of society; such an order as is essential to the welfare of the subjects or citizens of the state, individually and generally, whatever may be their creed. As it is its business to punish, so much more is it within its province to prevent crime; and for this purpose it is bound to protect and promote a healthy state of public morals, and to put down all such nuisances as disorderly public houses, and that odious traffic in vice, for which our large towns and cities are so painfully notorious. In all such cases, the arm of the law is exerted on the simple principle which lies at the foundation of all civil government, namely, that the licentiousness of individuals is not to be allowed to trench on the welfare and good order of the whole community. There is nothing in this principle, so far as I see, which can be perverted to the support of the interference of Government with religion, or the marriage of Church and State.

11*mo.* 6*th.* The accounts from America favourable. Our

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beloved deputies,* after attending a satisfactory Yearly Meeting at Richmond, are traversing Indiana, and intend advancing even to the far western Iowa. There can be no doubt that they are blessed, and will be blessed in their work. "O! how great is thy goodness which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee, which thou hast wrought for them that trust in thee before the sons of men."

The year had been already marked in Joseph John Gurney's family circle by a bereavement of no common order. They had now to mourn the loss of another tenderly beloved member with whom he had long been accustomed to sympathize and labour.

10*th mo.*, 13*th*. We have just received the deeply affecting account of our beloved sister Fry's having been attacked, last seventh day afternoon, with pressure on the brain, which appears to have continued until yesterday morning, producing torpor, or, perhaps, insensibility, with difficulty of breathing. The dear patient did not know those around her, except occasionally for a moment, and did not appear to suffer pain; but the medical man evidently considered her end to be approaching, unless something effectual could be done to relieve the breathing. Overwhelming as this stroke would have been two years ago, we are now mercifully enabled to receive it in great quietness of mind. Her long continued, and, of late, increasing infirmity, though with very precious alternations of hope, and, on her part, of great brightness, have gradually weaned us from that close dependence on her, to which many of us were prone; and it is impossible to say how much of pain and difficulty a prolonged state of increasing debility might have occasioned her. Most dearly have I been bound to this beloved sister ever since I knew anything; and our being brought into the same religious course, has rendered that bond one of peculiar intimacy and tenderness. What a favour it

* See *supra*, p. 445—46.

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is, that peace is the mantle of my spirit, on the hearing of this intelligence, in the delightful assurance that, whether she be in life or in death, peace is everlastingly hers, through Jesus Christ our Lord!

Third day morning. Our tenderly beloved sister appears never to have recovered from her state of unconsciousness, although the struggle of nature to the beholders was great. She drew her last breath about four o'clock yesterday morning. We are quiet under the blow, yet somewhat stunned.

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CHAPTER XLVI.

1845—46. ÆT. 58.

BRIEF MEMOIRS OF SIR T. F. BUXTON AND ELIZABETH FRY; LETTER TO SIR ROBERT PEEL ON THE DISTRESS AMONG THE NORWICH POOR; CORRESPONDENCE ON THE OREGON QUESTION; PERSONAL TRIALS; ATTENDS THE YEARLY MEETING FOR THE LAST TIME; LETTER TO SIR ROBERT PEEL ON THE INTRODUCTION OF SLAVE GROWN PRODUCE; DECLARATION OF FAITH.

LARGELY as Joseph John Gurney was thus again called upon to partake of the cup of sorrow, it was one mingled with mercy and abundant consolation. But the loss of such a brother and sister was one, in this world, never to be supplied; and it was not the less felt amidst that quiet, confiding trust, and that steady diligence in the performance of duty, which seemed not obscurely to intimate that his own separation from them was not to be long.

10*th mo.*, 27*th.* It is almost impossible for me to describe the last two weeks. We have deeply felt the blow; and have been closely occupied by the subject. The leisure of fourth, fifth, and sixth days was occupied in drawing up a sketch of the dear departed one.

On seventh day, the 18th, we went by railroad to London, and joined the Upton party at dinner. The following first day was very interesting. The funeral on second day, at Barking, was very large and deeply solemn. I was led to pour forth my praises and prayers at the grave; and a large meeting was afterwards held

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to our satisfaction, under a tent. The dinner, at Upton Lane, was indicative of her own liberal and impartial mind; so many there, and so hospitably entertained, and so thoroughly united in heart and feeling. Great relief and much peace were felt at the close of the day.

On fourth day last we were favoured with a blessed parting season, and returned home in peace. The newspaper containing the sketch, sent off to about 400 people in different parts of the world. May it be accepted in the Lord unto edification!

Sixth day morning. We have enjoyed much of a feeling of quietness and solemnity in our meetings; some precious tokens, I trust, that we are not forsaken. I am preparing the Memorials of Fowell and my sister Fry for publication, and deeply feel what a chasm their departure has produced. Surely *we* shall never see their like again.

11*th mo.*, 18*th*. Last second day to dinner by the train came the Chevalier Bunsen and his lady, and stayed with us until fourth day morning, when I accompanied them to Blickling, on their way to Northrepps. Their visit was uncommonly bright and pleasant, and I hope I have formed with the Chevalier a very valuable literary and Christian friendship. * * * To-day I have been at home; writing letters, reading, and pondering many things in my heart. In the multitude of my thoughts within me, O Lord, let thy comforts delight my soul!

12*th mo.*, 15*th*. These gaps in my journal, so full is my mind and so weak my memory, are difficult to fill up; but sure I am, that the ever-rolling stream of time is bringing me nearer and nearer to eternity. May it through infinite mercy and ever-flowing grace be more and more a happy, yea a joyous thought! How important, yet how impossible without that grace, to dwell in the meekness and purity of Christ, in the very truth and power thereof! * * * The decease of our truly dear friend and relative, Ann Hodgkin, induced us to go to Tottenham, on fifth day in last week. There we continued until first day afternoon; being much with our dear and deeply-stricken mourners; attending the funeral of George Stacey's daughter Anna on sixth day

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afternoon, and that of Ann Hodgkin on seventh day morning. The two evening re-unions were especially interesting; and we found during these several occasions some call to the exercise of the ministry. Both the dear departed ones had given full evidence that they died in the Lord. Not a single cloud was permitted to darken their hope. On sixth day morning I had much satisfaction in attending the Meeting for Sufferings; and towards the conclusion spoke, under some true anointing, I believe, on the subject of war; on the threatened war with America; and on the propriety of the Meeting for Sufferings being on the watch, to come forward, if needful, on the side of peace.

The failure of the wheat harvest in many parts of the kingdom, and the depressed state of trade, concurred in producing at this period great distress among the poorer classes; especially in the manufacturing districts. Joseph John Gurney's deep sympathy was, as usual, awakened by the sufferings of the poor at Norwich; and he was induced, on their behalf, to plead for a modification or suspension of the existing duties on corn, in the following letter to the late Sir Robert Peel, who was then, though unknown to Joseph John Gurney, anxiously revolving, with the other members of his government, this important question.

Earlham, 10th mo., 29th, 1845.

Sir Robert Peel, Bart.

I heartily hope I shall not be regarded as taking an undue liberty in freely addressing thee on a subject which I look upon as of vital importance to the poorer classes of the people. With regard to their condition and prospects in this part of the kingdom, I grieve to say my report must be a very unfavourable one. There can be no doubt that the wheat harvest in Norfolk has been far below the average; the fears, which were previously entertained on the subject, having been more than realized by the alarming deficiency in the actual produce. The

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disease and failure of the potato crop are also prevalent in our county to a distressing extent. But it is more to the state of Norwich that I am anxious to solicit a little of thy attention. Our manufacturing population, which is very considerable, has, during the general prosperity, been only very partially employed, and at a miserably inadequate rate of wages. Under these circumstances it was with great difficulty that we got through the last winter; the state of destitution was even then terrible, and the visitation of small pox, which followed in its train, and which was greatly increased by the wretched state of the inhabitants, was fatal to a large number. Since then we have had more employment, but still at a very low rate of wages; and now, as we are approaching the winter, the manufacturers are again turning off their hands. It is impossible to conceive what will become of the poor even at the present high price of bread; and, should that price continue to rise, which we have too much reason to expect, the consequences to the population of our city cannot fail to be of the most deplorable and alarming character.

Such is the state of things amongst us, which, as friends of the poor, we are anxious to submit to the wisdom and care of a paternal government, and more especially of Sir Robert Peel as the head of it. We are well aware of thy great experience and of thy sincere desire to promote the welfare of the community; and we therefore do not hesitate, though with much respect and deference, to lay our case before thee. It is, to our apprehension, abundantly evident that the operation of the sliding-scale of the Corn Law will not afford the early and effective relief which the distresses of our population so loudly demand; especially during the present season, when the average of prices is kept down far below the practical reality by the low value of injured and unwholesome samples. The boon, therefore, which we anxiously crave irrespectively of the general question of the Corn Laws, and wholly so of party politics, is the suspension of all import duties on man's necessary food, and especially on bread corn, during the present affecting and alarming exigency.

I understand that a memorial from many of the more respect-

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able citizens of Norwich, of all parties, to the effect now mentioned, is likely to be presented to thee; and I venture to hope that in offering to thy notice this private explanation of our circumstances, I shall not be regarded by thee as acting improperly. Shouldest thou see it right to grant our petition, I fully believe that the blessing of thousands who are ready to perish will rest upon thee.

With earnest desire that divine wisdom and help may be abundantly upon thee, in the prosecution of thy high and important functions, and with great respect,

I am, thy sincere friend and well-wisher,

J. J. GURNEY.

It was in the same spirit that he now entered into a lengthened correspondence with another influential and distinguished individual, in reference to the dispute which had arisen between the British and American Governments with regard to the Oregon territory, and which seemed at one time to endanger the harmony that has so long happily subsisted between the two countries.

From this correspondence the following brief extract may be here given:—

Earlham, 11th mo., 26th, 1845.

On my return from Lynn and Runcton last evening, I found thy kind letter, which I could not, at so late an hour, answer by return of post. On the Oregon question, I wish to quote, *imprimis*, thy own excellent words, "England can afford not to be offended, it can also afford to give way." Nothing can be truer, and nothing more important, in its bearing on the present question, than this statement. With her immense resources, with her high reputation, &c., this country is above the charge either of inability or fear; and can most unquestionably afford abundance of rational quietness, and kind condescension. Allowing for a moment *thy* doctrine, that States being scripturally authorized, (authorized I should say by him who is the Author both of nature and revelation,) may lawfully make use of war as

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a necessary defence, (thou art of course aware that *my* principles against war go much further,) but, allowing this as the general opinion of the nation, it is most evident that the present case does not fall within the limits of this principle. The war now projected in England, should the American government persevere in their unbending claim, could not be regarded by any one as an act of necessary self defence, on the part of this nation; but only as the maintenance by the force of arms, of a point of honour so called. The chastisement would fall, as is well observed by thee, on the innocent and highly respectable part of the community; the citizens of New England, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, &c., who are as much averse to war as we are ourselves; and who, generally speaking, care as little for Oregon as we do. What possible advantage could England derive from thus punishing the innocent for the guilty? If it be said that it would drive this large portion of American citizens to insist on juster measures with their own government, I would answer that no such end would be produced. They have it not in their power to prevail over the larger and more popular party—and they would only be driven into feelings of revenge and hostility against England, which would be the source of endless disquietude and mischief.

Then, as to the point of honour, can anything be conceived more unjustifiable than plunging these two great nations into the unutterable horror and wickedness of such a war, on the ground of punctilio? If it is wicked in the duellist to shoot his former friend and neighbour, and expose his own life to a similar danger, merely because his honour, in the eye of the world, is wounded, surely it is the very same wickedness, on an immensely larger scale, for one nation to make war upon another on any such ground. Think of sacrificing myriads of lives, and sending myriads of souls unprepared into eternity, merely because Great Britain imagines herself affronted!

In connexion with this subject, Joseph John Gurney, whilst in London, in the early part of the following year, (1846,) accompanied a deputation to present an address

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from the Society of Friends to the government, earnestly praying for the preservation of peace. Referring to this, he writes under date :—

2nd. mo., 20th. The engagement which took deep hold of me, in connexion with the Meeting for Sufferings, was that of addressing the government on the subject of the Oregon question, and peace with America. * * * I waited on Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen, with my brother Samuel, Peter Bedford, Robert Forster, and several other Friends, and read the address to them, which was evidently much felt. It was a highly interesting occasion.

In a memorial subsequently addressed by Joseph John Gurney to the Earl of Aberdeen, after minutely discussing some of the minor details of the question, he winds up with the following earnest appeal against war under any circumstances :—

Should the American government, after all, determine to stand firmly upon the Florida treaty, and continue to assert what they call their irrefragable claim to the whole of Oregon; should they, on this ground, refuse to agree to any further concession (as they consider it) than that which was proposed to the British minister, at Washington, and rejected by him without reference to the Home Government; should they, under the pressure of a low and lawless democracy, be deaf to the voice of reason and reconciliation even beyond this point; shall Lord Aberdeen on that account deem himself to be "*forced*," into a rupture with America? Shall he yield to the absurd and dangerous dictates of our war-loving, and America-hating newspaper writers? Shall he exchange his truly Christian and conciliating spirit—estimated and honoured as it is by good men the world over—for the hurling forth of the weapons of death and destruction; for a war of which no man could calculate the probable extent and duration? Under a feeling of the solemnity of the words, I would answer from my very soul,

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God forbid! The question of national honour, even in its worldly phase, cannot surely be involved in the *more* or *less* of the concession which we make for the sake of peace; in the *more* or *less* of the acres either of land or water which we yield to the Americans for the sake of the welfare of both nations, and for the happiness of the world. * * *

It cannot be doubted but that these sentiments found a response in the mind of the distinguished statesman to whom they were addressed. War was on this occasion mercifully averted; and by slight mutual concessions, these two great countries were spared the enormous misery and guilt which it ever brings in its train. Happy, indeed, will be the day when, through the effectual working of the love of Christ, both statesmen and people are brought to a willingness, on all occasions, to act upon what, to the Christian, must surely be the undeniable axiom, that no necessity can relieve either individuals or nations from the obligations of that highest of all allegiance which they owe unto him who hath said, "LOVE YOUR ENEMIES."

Before once more recurring to his ordinary course as traced in his Journal, it seems necessary here briefly to advert to a subject which had for some time past, at intervals, occasioned Joseph John Gurney considerable uneasiness. It will be recollected that during his visit to the United States, he had met with some who appeared to labour under misapprehensions respecting him and his writings. By an unhappily mistaken process of reasoning and criticism upon detached passages of his works; such as if applied to the writings of the early Friends, to those of the first reformers, or even to the Holy Scriptures themselves, would be found productive of consequences which the lover of truth could not fail to deplore; an attempt

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had been made, with a zeal worthy of a better cause, to prove that he was opposed to those great principles of spiritual Christianity, which have ever distinguished the Society of Friends—principles which had been so long truly dear to him, and for which he had sacrificed so much. It is not the object of these pages to enter into a detailed examination of Joseph John Gurney's writings in reference to the points alluded to. Nor, indeed, is any such examination necessary. To the candid and unprejudiced; to those who read them in the spirit in which they were written, and with that simplicity of purpose in which alone the truth can be perceived and apprehended; they will themselves furnish a sufficient answer to the charge brought against them. That amidst so much that is valuable, passages may be found which are open to misconception, and which, especially when isolated and detached from the context, may be, perhaps, even justly liable to some exception, is by no means improbable. Such imperfections, shared as they are, in at least a fully equal degree, by the works of the early Friends, and by other writings of distinguished worth and excellence, are, doubtless, permitted as salutary lessons at once of the weakness of all inferior instrumentality, and of the high and peculiar sanction divinely impressed upon the records of Holy Scripture, as the only volume that can be safely trusted as the standard of Christian doctrine.* And if even the Epistles of an inspired Apostle, with the "other Scriptures," have been from the very first wrested by the "unteachable" and "unstable," need we be surprised if writings of vastly inferior dignity and importance are not

* "For equalling our writings with Scripture," says Wm. Penn, in emphatic language, "we have no such expressions or thoughts." (Works, vol. ii, p. 800, fol. ed.) Cordially could Joseph John Gurney respond to this declaration.

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privileged with exemption from similar treatment? To be mis-interpreted by those whose range of thought and experience is different from his own; to be supposed to hold opinions that he dislikes or disapproves; to be suspected of denying principles that are truly dear to him; these must often be among the trials which the Christian has to bear, and in which he is called upon to follow in the footsteps of his Divine Master, whose whole life was one continued act of condescension to the ignorance and infirmity of man.

The spirit in which Joseph John Gurney was enabled to bear a trial so painful as this was to his natural feelings, will best appear from the incidental allusions to it which occur in his letters and Journal of this period.

TO PETER BEDFORD.

Earlham, 10th mo., 8th, 1845.

* * * I can truly say I passed through the meetings of New York and New England with great comfort to myself, being everywhere received with cordiality by Friends, with two or three individual exceptions; and I was not myself, by any means, fully aware of the efforts made by one individual to thwart the service: still less did I know the grounds on which his own friends were dealing with him; and when I last attended the yearly meeting of New England, I received a full returning certificate,* with what appeared to be the almost undisturbed unanimity of *a truly weighty and consistent body of Friends.*

Thou art also aware that since my return home, I have twice been long engaged on the continent, far away from these scenes of strife; and of later times have been generally permitted a very quiet life at my own peaceful home. Thus I can gratefully acknowledge that our dear Lord and Master has graciously condescended to "compass me with his favour as with a shield," and I should indeed be worthy of blame did I distrust his loving-kindness for the future. Still, my beloved friend, these things

* Granted by the Yearly Meeting at large.

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are trying and distressing, and I have, at times, suffered much from them. But I do feel that it is safe to lie low under the chastening hand of the Lord;—and, next to this, safe to be subject to my friends in humility and love. If there is anything wrong in me, let it be corrected. I wish not to strive. One thing, I am sure, that I love my friends, and love the cause, and love the truth as thou and I have always held it, in *all its parts*. And may we ever be found on the side of the Lord of truth, patiently waiting until *He* shall be pleased to arise for our help, and to put a song of praise into our mouths.

The following are from his Journal:—

12th mo., *15th*. I have requested to be furnished in writing, with the passages excepted against, expressing my intention of fully submitting them and myself to the judgment therein, of the only duly authorized body; the Morning Meeting. Thus I hold nothing back from the Society, and cast myself and my writings without reserve on the care and judgment of the body. I can do no more. The cause is precious to me; and I desire to be preserved in true meekness, humility, and love towards all, until this *stürm* wind shall be over-past.

12th mo., *16th*. I spent almost a sleepless night, not without some deep tribulation of soul; and much lowness and weakness have been my portion this morning. I pray that I may be enabled to maintain the whole blessed truth as it is in Jesus, in the firmness, yet patience and meekness which are in Christ. O for the "patience," the "long suffering," the "firmness," the "meekness," the "purity," the "humility" of the saints! * Lord, I beseech thee for thy dear Son's sake, whose example I desire to follow, to bestow upon me these precious graces!

In pursuance of the intention above expressed, Joseph John Gurney addressed the following letter to the Editors of the Friend Newspaper, which was published in that Journal in the first month, 1846.

* The words within quotation marks are in Greek in the original. See the lithograph fac-simile.

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I pray that
the whole blessed
Trinity, yet 1
Christ. O for
the ἀγάπη the
ταπεινοφροσύνη
for thy dear Son
follow, to be like

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Earlham, near Norwich, 12th mo., 17th, 1845.

* * * I think it right to say that if any Friend of weight and consistency will furnish me, in writing, with such passages from my works as he or she may consider unsatisfactory, (duly signed, of course,) although I believe there is nothing in my writings at variance with the truth as it has always been professed by Friends, yet I should consider it my duty to take an early opportunity of laying such communication before the Morning Meeting in London; the body which, according to our wholesome system of discipline, is constitutionally authorized to judge of such matters.

Should any of the passages objected to occur in the works which have already passed that meeting, I cannot doubt that the Friends belonging to it will deem it right again to sift those particular passages; and that they will not hesitate to examine whether those selected from my other works, (which, being of a general nature, were not within the province of the Morning Meeting,) are, or are not, consistent with the ackowledged principles of our religious Society.

In case of that meeting's not being satisfied with the explanations which I may be enabled to offer of the passages thus submitted to their consideration; it is my full intention to modify them, strike them out, or even publicly renounce them, in whole or in part, as the meeting may think proper to advise.

In expressing this intention, I wish it to be clearly understood that my sentiments on essential points, are in no degree changed since the date even of my earliest publications; and nothing, I trust, would induce me to sacrifice one particle of "the truth as it is in Jesus," to please or satisfy any man or body of men whatsoever. But I am fully convinced that our Friends of the Morning Meeting are as much attached both to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and to the distinguishing views and practices of Friends, as I am myself, and I have a deep consciousness of my own weakness and fallibility. It certainly cannot be said of my writings, (or perhaps of those of any other man who has written since the days of the apostles,) that there

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are not passages in them which might be improved, simplified, corrected, or even entirely omitted with advantage to the reader, as confusing, to some minds, at least, the sense which they were intended to convey.

I make this proposal, as I trust, in the spirit of submission and brotherly love; and in the earnest desire to promote that harmony and unity amongst us, which it is one of the most subtle and cruel devices of the enemy of souls to break and destroy.

In allusion to the same subject, he subsequently writes in his Journal:—

3rd mo., 25th, 1846. I can truly say, I have done my best, my very best; my all, my very all; and now I think I can quietly leave it to Him whom we all call Master. May I serve him better and more entirely than I have yet done; though I know it must be in weakness; and may none of these storms and jealousies throw me off my guard in the meekness and patience of Christ, or in the least divert my attention from daily duty, and the diligent working out of the everlasting salvation of my poor, unworthy soul! I have prayed for peace among the nations, peace in our Society, and peace in the deep interior of my own spirit; a blessing which I do in a good degree already enjoy; but to which I have not the slightest pretensions, except in the abundant mercy of God in Christ Jesus. May it abound in us more and more; with joy in the Holy Ghost, and a truly thankful heart to the Father and Fountain of all our mercies!

2nd mo., 20th. Returned yesterday from London, having been exactly six weeks from our happy home. In the course of these six interesting weeks, we have had much sweet enjoyment in the company of our beloved relatives and friends; two days at Heath very pleasantly, then full two weeks at Blackwell, and a few days at Polam, in near fellowship and most pleasant intercourse with their respective dear inhabitants. Afterwards, on our journey home, with our friends at Huddersfield, Leeds, Bradford, Brighouse, and Sheffield, and last, but not least, with James Montgomery, the

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Christian poet, who seems to be ripening for eternity. Then thirteen days at Upton, where many engagements awaited me.

I have to record as special mercies, the truly satisfactory position and condition of our darling Anna with her husband and babe; the flowing of love and unity towards us from Friends wherever our lot was cast; the pouring forth of the Lord's anointing on me, his poor, weak servant, on several rather memorable occasions; and the solemnity which prevailed at almost every meeting which we attended. * * * Surely it is not too much to say, that the dear Master was remarkably with us on these occasions; showing us tokens for good, and giving us a banner to be displayed for his truth; yet the creature, truly, has had nothing to glory in. The language has been deeply felt, "Be thou exalted, O God, above the heavens, and let thy glory be above all the earth."

TO HIS DAUGHTER.

Earlham, 4th mo., 3rd, 1846.

* * * Enough for us, that where Christ is in glory, there will be his followers, who are now struggling on in the Church militant; there *are* his saints who are already gathered from this passing scene to things invisible and eternal. Think of dearest aunt Fry with us at this time last year; so decrepid, so oppressed, and yet so lively in the truth; now for ever released from the burden of the flesh; for with her it did indeed become a sore burden. How gladsome, how easy, how tranquil, how joyous, her present condition!

From his Journal:—

3rd mo., 28th. The General Quarterly Meeting larger than usual, and to me a truly edifying time. It was on the whole to me, and I believe to many others, a time of solid encouragement; some fresh evidence graciously bestowed, that we as a people, (despised though our profession be,) are following no cunningly devised fables.

Yesterday was spent quietly at home. Cordelia Bayes and Mary Browne came to a luncheon dinner. Cordelia told us that

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a cheerful heart is the fruit of a thankful spirit. I was pleased with the remark, not having before put cause and consequence together in the same way. May I experience this truth more and more!

4th mo., 9th. My history this week is that of a weakling, with but little exception; languid days and restless nights; so that I seem reduced to the do-nothing, be-nothing state. This may be the very best for a season. I am, however, bringing my temporal affairs into a satisfactory arrangement, which yields me somewhat of peace. We have finished D'Aubigné's last volume, which we have read with great pleasure; the latter part contains a most striking evidence of the folly and wickedness of using the armed power of man in the combats of Christianity. Zwingle died miserably in the battle-field; the peaceable Æcolampadius happily in his bed!

Yesterday afternoon, we met dear John Henry and Mary at Easton,* only four miles and a-half, I think, from our door; and entirely to our taste, as a residence for them; the country lovely. When I was drinking of the remarkably pure water of their well, a prayer was raised in my heart that the waters of life might flow abundantly for them. Grant it, O, Lord, for thy mercy and for thy truth's sake!

4th mo., 25th. Again I say—what have I to record? Much of my own utter weakness and poverty in spirituals; and much of the goodness and lovingkindness of the Lord, who still most graciously and undeservedly encompasses me with mercies; to which I may add a quieter and easier state of mind than is sometimes my portion. * * * An admirable meeting last sixth day, on Capital Punishment, suggested by the late sad execution; ending with a petition to the House of Commons: also an excellent meeting of the Auxiliary Peace Society, last fourth day, over which I presided; including an address to Norwich in America, which I trust will do good. Our own meetings have been comfortable; some of them eminently so; especially last

* The residence of his son, who had been recently married.

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fifth day, when the ministry flowed in a quiet stream. "As ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord so walk ye in him."

4th mo., 26th. Under confinement for a cold on the chest through the day, with my dearest wife for my nurse and companion. We sat together in sweet silence, both morning and afternoon. In the morning, prayer was vocally offered to our mutual refreshment. Besides the Scriptures, Bonar's Night of Weeping, Daniel Wheeler, and William Dewsbury have been our companions. We relish nothing so well, next to Scripture, as the Journals of Friends.

Third day morning. Still a prisoner at home, expecting, however, to be abroad again to-morrow. I am ready to hope this time of quiet secession may be of use to me. My state is not a high one; much of self-loathing, accompanied by some degree of disquietude, lest I should not, after all, be truly the child of grace. Yet a good hope dwells with me, and I think I now and then hear the still small voice which speaks peace to the soul. Truly, I am nothing; Christ is all.

TO ANDREW BRANDRAM.

Earlham, 5th mo., 4th, 1846.

I should much have enjoyed attending the ensuing Anniversary Meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, but as I cannot do this with convenience, I send a donation of £100 to the Parent Society, being thoroughly persuaded that for the three great evils of the present day, superstition, infidelity, and crime, no better remedy can be found than the universal diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in all languages, and without note or comment.

In prosecuting this great and noble object, may the friends of simple Christian truth of every denomination be encouraged by a renewed sense of divine favour, and may the safe and harmless principle of co-operation without compromise be more and more accompanied in the blessed work of the Bible Society by "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace!"

Sixth day morning, [*5th mo., 8th.*] Poorliness continued; so that I did not attend the Ladies' Branch Bible Society, at the

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Gildencroft, rather to my dissatisfaction; but I sent a letter and a donation; being much bound in spirit to the cause. I am remarkably divested now of concerns or object of any kind; and should it be the will of my heavenly Father to take me hence to a now unseen state of being, I humbly trust that I may be favoured with some peaceful assurance that all is well: if so, it is surely all of mercy; I have nothing to hold by, besides this; and seldom have I had a clearer view of my own weakness, and thorough unfitness in myself, or on the score of my own works, for the bar of perfect discernment and righteous judgment. But there is a feeling of the vast broad wing of lovingkindness, and unmerited mercy still spread over me. I write in this strain, not from any alarm occasioned by my present lowish state of health, but rather from a feeling of being brought to a pause in the current of life, without much prospect of its being preparatory to any particular service.

In the Yearly Meeting, at which he was present in usual course, a few days later, an opportunity occurred for the disclosure of some of his views and feelings in regard to his own position as an author amongst Friends. It was an occasion of deep interest to many present; one which the event has rendered the more impressive, this Yearly Meeting being the last which he lived to attend.

"I spoke calmly and openly," he writes, "respecting my own standing as an author; declaring that for thirty-three years since my convincement, I had endeavoured faithfully and steadily to uphold the principles and testimonies of Friends, as held from our first rise to the present day; that to the best of my knowledge and belief, I had never penned a single sentence opposed to those principles; but, knowing my own weakness, and taking into view the differences in modes of expression, &c., I was quite willing to correct any passage in my works that any Friend might point out to me, so far as truth and propriety might demand it. I explained my ground of action respecting the Morning Meeting,

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showing that I had acted as a faithful member of the Society, and according to its rules, which require that any works relating to the principles of Friends, should be submitted thereto. At the same time I stated that, should it be the judgment of the society to extend the rule farther, viz., to all works on religion, I, for one, was quite prepared to comply with it. I spoke on the true ground of Christian unity; and I trust that a measure of divine anointing accompanied the communication."

TO THE BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

(Then on a visit to this country.)

Norwich, 6th mo., 6th, 1846.

Though thy son kindly engaged to convey a message of my Christian love to thee, and of my regret at having missed thee, I am best satisfied to write thee a few lines to tell thee that I was grievously disappointed, on calling at the Vicarage last second day morning, to find the beloved and honoured Bishop of Calcutta flown. I had not given him credit for enough of remaining youthful vigour to steal away at seven o'clock in the morning. I have dwelt much with regard to thee, my dear and valued friend, on the words of Paul, "Neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I may finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God." These words, I doubt not, express the genuine feelings of thy heart, in the prospect of returning to India; and warmly do I desire that the Lord's presence may go with thee by land and by sea, through many a difficulty, and many a conflict, and may finally give thee rest.

O that glorious rest from all sorrow, and from all sin; from all infidelity and all superstition; from all discord, disputation, and division, on the bosom of the Lord Jesus, and in the presence of his glorified saints! I do believe, my dear friend, it will be thine in due season; and may thy unworthy friend, through the unutterable riches of divine love and mercy in Christ Jesus, be also a partaker in it!

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True to the principles which he had ever advocated on the subjects of slavery and the slave trade, he looked with great apprehension on the effort that was now renewed in Parliament (upon the somewhat inconsistent plea of *free* trade) to abolish the differential duties upon the *slave grown* produce of Cuba and the Brazils. On this subject he addressed the following letter

TO SIR ROBERT PEEL.

Earlham, Norwich, 6th mo., 15th, 1846.

RESPECTED FRIEND,

Fully aware, as I am, that I am taking no small liberty in writing to thee as Prime Minister in the midst of thy many and important avocations, I feel impelled to say that the government has the warm approbation and support of every true friend to Africa and her afflicted children and descendants, of every consistent supporter of the anti-slavery cause, in its declared intention of continuing the prohibitory duties on the sugars of Cuba and Brazil. It must surely be evident to every candid and reflecting person, that the opening of our ports to those sugars cannot fail to add a vast stimulus to the African slave trade, with all its horrors and abominations; such a stimulus as must countervail, and, perhaps, utterly nullify all the efforts which the British government is now making for the suppression of that hateful and murderous traffic. Heartily agreeing with the government in its noble advocacy of the general principle of free trade, the friends of Africa, and of the slave everywhere, cannot but deeply feel that this general principle ought to be subject to the limitations of humanity, mercy, justice, and true Christian morality, in all its branches. Nor can it be denied that these will be conspicuously sacrificed at the shrine of a merely worldly policy, if we open our ports to sugars which unquestionably represent a corresponding amount of rapine, robbery, bloodshed, and murder. In using these terms, I have especial reference to the African slave trade, on which the sugar growing of Cuba and the Brazils

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at present depends. I am aware that the same objection applies, in a subordinate degree, to the slave production of North America; and deeply do the friends of the anti-slavery cause lament that rivetting of the bonds of American slavery, and that extension of the system, which have been and continue to be, the results of our ready admission of the slave-grown cottons of the United States. Nevertheless, we are aware that the case of Cuba and the Brazils is very much stronger; as involving, not only the support of slavery, but the maintenance, encouragement, and certain increase of the African slave trade itself; against which the British nation and government are pledged by a long course of profession and action, and by the most sacred principles of honour, as well as justice and mercy.

What could be more preposterous than our pulling down with one hand the whole system of national influence and interference against the slave trade which we have been raising with the other? * * *

I trust thou wilt kindly allow me now to advert to the other branch of the subject, and to say with how much satisfaction we should hail the entire extinction of the differential duty on foreign free-grown sugar; a measure which would not only be in strict accordance with those great principles of commercial policy which the government has so successfully advocated, but which would have a most decided tendency to weaken the bonds of foreign slavery, and to promote the progress of emancipation. After my visit to Santa Cruz, in the winter of 1839-40, a direct proposal was made to me by one of the principal planters, on his own behalf and that of his brethren, most of them being Englishmen, to emancipate their slaves, on condition of their sugar being admitted into our ports on the same terms as those of our own colonies. There is strong reason to believe that the equalization of the duties on free-grown sugars would be followed by the emancipation of the slaves in the colonies both of Denmark and Holland, and possibly it might be made the subject of negotiation and of terms with those countries. On my return to England, I found that the then existing treaty with Brazil precluded such an

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arrangement with Denmark; but as this obstruction is now removed, (as I suppose,) I trust this view of the subject will be embraced by the government. Should Denmark and Holland emancipate on this ground, it can hardly be supposed that France would refuse to imitate their example, and Spain herself might possibly follow in the train.

* * * * * *

P. S. I take the liberty of adding the statement of my own conviction, that the equalization of the duties on free-grown sugar would give such a stimulus to the agricultural improvements which are now taking place in the West Indian colonies, as to enable them successfully to compete with the producers of foreign free-grown sugar, and would thus ensure and enhance their prosperity.

From his Journal:—

7th mo., 1st. Political events are peculiarly interesting. The ministers have succeeded in the abolition of the Corn Laws, which is now law; a law, I trust, which will be greatly blessed to this nation. But being beaten on the question of Protection of Life in Ireland, they resign. On the very day of their resignation, comes the delightful intelligence that the Oregon question, *vexatissima* as it was, is settled, and peace thus happily secured between Great Britain and America. * * * Truly thankful do I feel for the result, to the God of peace, who has graciously heard and answered the many prayers of his children for the peace of the nations.

7th mo., 27th. It has been a favoured Sabbath day; the company of Isabel Casson very acceptable at both our meetings; especially so this evening. Great solemnity attended us; the meeting closed in prayer. It is, indeed, very sweet and encouraging to have felt, during the last few days, something of the renewed visitation of the Spirit of the Lord, bearing witness with our spirits that we are the children of God; and if children, then *heirs!* This is a precious experience of which I feel myself to be totally unworthy, and for which I seem to myself at seasons as

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totally unfit. But in the adorable lovingkindness of the Lord, I am in some good degree enabled to believe that mercy covers the judgment seat as to a hair's breadth.

8th mo., 3rd. Yesterday I entered my 59th year; only one year younger than my beloved and honoured father when he died. How strange an advance in life does this appear, since an event, as it were of yesterday; so vivid is the recollection of it! I was closely engaged last week in drawing up a declaration of my faith—on the Scriptures; the immediate operation of the Spirit; justification; and the "Trinity;" at the request of Stephen A. Chase, of Salem, Massachusetts, who requires it in his defence of Friends in a lawsuit about Swanzey Meeting-house. Having printed the declaration in a sheet of eight columns, I affirmed to it before the mayor and two other magistrates of our city, and then committed the document to the post. May a blessing rest on this somewhat new and singular act of my life, for which I think I had a measure of the feeling of divine sanction!

This declaration will be found in the Appendix to the present volume. In a letter to his daughter, dated 8th mo., 4th, he says in reference to it:—

It has appeared a providential opening for explaining myself, and for showing the utter groundlessness of the charge of my differing from the Society in its primitive sentiments and principles. I have felt the solemnity of thus *stereotyping my faith*, yet much peace has attended it.

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CHAPTER XLVII.

1846—47. ÆT. 59.

HIS LATEST ENGAGEMENTS IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY; JOURNEY TO DARLINGTON; LAST ILLNESS, DEATH, AND FUNERAL.

If there be an interest belonging to each varied period in the progress of the Christian traveller, that interest can scarcely fail to be deepened, as he is observed drawing nearer and nearer to the consummation of all his hopes. Though death may at times cast its shadow before, yet the consciousness of its gradual, but certain approach, tends rather to quicken his diligence, and to cheer him onward in the near prospect of the long looked for prize.

Reflections, such as these, may have not unnaturally already presented themselves to the mind of the reader; who has now only to watch Joseph John Gurney's calm and peaceful course during the few remaining months of his life.

The autumn of 1846 was spent quietly at home; with the exception of engagements connected with the attendance of the Meetings of Friends in his own Quarterly Meeting, and with what proved a farewell visit to his beloved daughter, at Darlington, and to his friends in several places on his way home.

The following are from his Journal:—

8th mo., 25th. O that I may be more and more entirely subject to the spiritual government of Christ! Probably a little more of

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service, in the promotion of his cause in the earth, may arise, not very far from home, and without much delay. There is great peace in looking back on the meetings so far held under my present minute. If my state in the meantime is that of poverty, with much quietness, and deep nothingness, why should I complain? Why should I not rather rejoice and be thankful?

9th mo., 1st. First day, after much lowness of mind, was greatly favoured. The meeting at Diss, in the morning, was fully and unexpectedly attended by a crowd of respectable persons, and was very solemn—"This God is our God for ever and ever: he will be our guide even unto death." In the evening an overflowing public meeting at Tivetshall—"O Death where is thy sting," &c. These words came clearly into my mind as we approached the meeting-house, and I believe at the moment when I passed a cottage where an awfully sudden death of a young mother had just taken place, though we knew nothing of it. Great solemnity crowned the meeting. Good family sitting in the morning, including the poor young man who had just lost his wife; after which, we returned home. Dearest Anna and her boy came to us in safety in the afternoon, to our great joy; and to-day dear John Henry and Mary have happily joined our circle. So that we have our children around us, and it may be we are washing our steps with butter, and the rock is pouring us out a sufficiency of that holy oil, which alone qualifies for the service of the Lord. Ought I not be hopeful, faithful, thankful?

9th mo., 9th. Yesterday, [at Lowestoft,] I spent a pleasant and entertaining hour or two, with John and Francis Cunningham, at Dr. Whewell's, with whom we discoursed on Cambridge worthies and moral philosophy. Afterwards he showed us the moon through his fine telescope, when we had a clear view of the honeycomb appearance of her surface, (on the side partially shadowed.) This appearance is supposed to bespeak obsolete craters in mountains; though it seems there is a light visible in one or more of them, which indicates the yet burning volcano.

9th mo., 19th. A considerable degree of tranquillity prevails at

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the close of this week. May a due preparation for a true Sabbath day of rest and worship be felt this evening! Prayer was poured forth after reading this morning. William Forster's company at breakfast, and afterwards, truly acceptable; he is so entirely one with us in feeling and sentiment; such a firmly supporting, yet tenderly sympathizing friend and brother. Our darling grandson is a great pleasure to us. How many, O Lord, are the blessings, temporal and spiritual, which thou hast been pleased to pour into our cup. As this cup of blessing overflows, may our hearts overflow with love and gratitude towards thee our God and Saviour!

Second day morning. I hope and believe our Sabbath yesterday was a profitable one. The meetings were both well attended; that in the morning silent, profoundly so I think; that in the afternoon exercising to me, for though I deeply felt the weight of the subject, and my insufficiency for any such service, I was bound to unfold the subject of *conscience*, the moral faculty; its corruption and perversion under the fall; hence the necessity of a new birth unto righteousness, and of the purging of the conscience from the stain of past sin by the sprinkling of the blood of Christ, through a living faith in him, the one great sacrifice for sin.—"I *trust* I have a good conscience." Since all this experience of vital Christianity is needful to a good conscience, we need not wonder at this modest way of expressing himself, even in the Apostle Paul—who, after his reconciliation with God, exercised himself to keep a conscience void of offence in the sight of God and man. In this work he could have no success, except through the illumination and power of the Holy Spirit, by which alone the conscience is truly enlightened, quickened, and kept alive. Thus, then, after being, through repentance and faith, placed in possession of a *good conscience*, we cannot keep that invaluable boon, except by watchfulness and prayer, and unreserved obedience to the guidance and government of Christ by his Spirit. Finally, if our heart condemn us not, then have we peace with God.—"Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright; for the end of that man is *peace*."

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9th mo., 29th. We have had a very full and interesting time; the shifting scenes of no uninstructive magic lantern having passed before us from day to day, and hour to hour. Through all, though somewhat fatigued, we have been favoured with true and solid peace. On second day arrived our dear and valued friends, Elizabeth Dudley and her sister, and very satisfactory to us all has been the week's visit which they have paid us. On fourth day we had a large Bible Society company to breakfast, forty in all, and a good time with them of Scripture reading, (Isaiah lx,) and afterwards of solemn prayer. The Bible Meeting that day (J. T. Pelham in the chair) was excellent; many clergymen present. I spoke easily to myself, and to the satisfaction, I trust, of the meeting. The Quarterly Meeting, on fifth day, was not very large, but Elizabeth Dudley's testimony was sound and valuable. All cleared away in peace this morning, so that we are again our home party, with dear John C. and Anna. On the whole, many and rather extraordinary have been our gospel privileges during this passing period.

On his return from his visit to Darlington, he writes:—

11th mo., 3rd. We look back on our late journey and its accompaniments with much satisfaction, and I trust, humble gratitude. Much has, in a quiet way, been accomplished, of which I can now give only a brief summary. A very agreeable passing visit, on our way, to the beloved Upton family. A satisfactory and comforting week with our dearest children at Blackwell, with their engaging little boy. Attendance of the Quarterly Meeting at Darlington, a very refreshing and memorable time; Monthly Meeting at Stockton; three first days at Darlington; altogether a series of meetings, for which we had abundant cause to be thankful.

A highly interesting visit of two days to Ackworth; good times with the children, particularly a concluding attempt at a scientific lecture. New hope attends the institution.

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The selection of a site on the school estate to be purchased and given for our Flounders' Normal School.*

A happy visit of two days to Upton on our return; finding our dearest brother quite vigorous again. Sixth day last, the touching, yet satisfying funeral of dear John Lister. It was a favour to find ourselves again in the right place, and at the needful hour. The unity and good fellowship of Friends, during the whole of this time, have been animating and encouraging.

I have found time for reading the Greek Testament as usual; Scott's Force of Truth and some of his Essays; Vigilantius and his times; part of John Foster's Life and Letters; and his Essay on Popular Ignorance. All this I have enjoyed, as I have drawing for recreation.

To-day, though not feeling very well, I am much prizing and enjoying our quietness, and Earlham is bright with sunshine.

The distress which was at this time prevalent in Ireland, owing to the failure of the potato crop, deeply affected Joseph John Gurney's feelings. He was among the foremost in encouraging the efforts that were then made by the Society of Friends in this country and in Ireland, on behalf of the starving population; and warmly did he second his beloved friend William Forster, in that spirit of Christian devotedness in which he gave himself up, during the winter, to a laborious visitation of the afflicted districts.

11*th mo.*, 18*th*. Very interesting communication with Friends, on the subject of poor, miserable, starving Ireland. Dear William Forster seems bent on being our ambassador thither. I think it

* "The Flounders' Institute," for the training of young men as teachers among Friends, originated in the gift of £40,000 three per cent consols, by Benjamin Flounders, of Yarm. The trustees not having power to purchase land for a site, with the principal sum, Joseph John Gurney gave the £500 required for this purpose; the purchase being completed by his executors after his decease. On the site thus furnished, the necessary buildings have been since erected, and the establishment has been for some years in active and efficient operation.

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is a case which requires not merely subscription, but sacrifice; and his sacrifice is a noble one; mine, only pecuniary. May I not say—"Filthy rags!"

TO JONATHAN PIM.

Norwich, 12th mo., 26th, 1846.

I have been much interested by thy pamphlet, and fully agree with thee on the points to which thou hast adverted.

First, that the grand point to aim at for the temporal welfare of Ireland is, to ensure, as far as possible, the good cultivation of the whole country, and to increase its actual productiveness. Secondly, that, in order to this end, all impediments to the improvement of the land ought to be removed. Thirdly, that uncertainty of title and difficulty of sale in the case of landlords, and uncertainty of tenure in that of tenants, are obvious obstructions in the way of such improvement.

The provisions proposed by thee for remedying those evils, and especially for obtaining that universal facility of sale, which would soon bring capital to bear, with its native force, on the cultivation of the land, appear to me to be excellent, though it is not a subject on which I am competent to form a very good judgment. I think it would be right for thee to lay thy pamphlet before the government, and influential persons in thy own country.

While the accounts from various parts of Ireland are very distressing, it is a comfort that Friends are *doing their best* to grapple with the awful affliction which has been permitted to overtake our sister island, and that so good a committee has been formed at Dublin. We doubt not that our beloved friend William Forster's help is very seasonable and effective.

I endeavour to take comfort in the belief that the present trial, though evidently not cursory in its nature, will be finally overruled for good.

TO JOHN HODGKIN.

Norwich, 21st of 12th mo., 1846.

* * * I believe it is far from being shallow work to get down to a thorough sense and inward acknowledgment that, in his

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chastening, God "doeth all things well;" not only righteously, but as a *Father* full of lovingkindness. Perhaps nothing is so trying to our faith as affliction on a large scale, (such as sweeping starvation in Ireland,) unless it be vice and cruelty on a still larger, as in the case of the slave trade; but there is a point of reposing faith and quiet resignation, to which the mind may be brought, and in which it may be anchored; wherein the heartfelt feeling and blessed assurance is given that God doeth all things rightly; that his "tender mercies are over all his works;" that, though "clouds and darkness are round about him, righteousness and judgment are the habitation of his throne."

We are going on very comfortably at Earlham, and are favoured to look back with peace and comfort on our late engagement in visiting several small meetings and in holding some public ones. I am not aware that I remember any occasion of the kind in which the Great Master of our assemblies was felt to be nearer for the help of his most poor servant.

From his Journal:—

11*th mo.*, 21*st.* Yesterday a delightfully quiet day at home. Dearest sister Buxton with us to dine and lodge; a blessed time of prayer after our reading this morning; and since breakfast we have had a most agreeable wander in the bright chrysanthemized garden. Who has the same pleasure in flowers that I have? I trust it is not idolatrous. Can it be that—

> From Paradise to Paradise my upward course extends,
> My Paradise of flowers on earth, in heaven's elysium ends?

O how deeply and thoroughly unworthy am I of all the Lord's benefits!

12*th mo.*, 8*th.* Just returned from a solemn and comforting visit to the sick and probably dying chamber of nurse Norman; my old nurse,* who has lived eighty out of her eighty-nine years in the cottage at the bottom of the park, which she now inhabits.

* See *supra*, vol. i, p. 9.

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I trust and believe all is and will be well with her, for Christ's sake.

We went to Yarmouth last seventh day, and returned yesterday. Our visit to the little meeting, and to several Friends during the day, and more particularly a well attended and quiet public meeting in the evening, were relieving and comforting. The preceding first day at Norwich was also a good day; Friends being well gathered together, I trust, as before the Lord.

12th mo., 25th. Quietly at home and rejoicing in my privacy. I felt somewhat of the sweetness and benefit of prayer on my first rising this morning; and in dependence on the Spirit of grace and supplication, desire for myself and others, a greater diligence in fulfilling this often-commanded and most salutary duty. We have been permitted to enjoy a happy Quarterly Meeting. I thought we were graciously favoured with evidence during the day, that, as a people, though very poor, we are not yet forsaken.

My subscription of £500 to Ireland, has at length been well backed up by the accompanying list. This is a comfort to me; it is a vast case of physical woe. The Lord help them, and feed them, and overrule all for good! It is my prayer that I may be delivered from all self-complacency, and may be more and more prostrate before the Lord, in deep humility. All that I am and have are undoubtedly his. In the matter of giving, there is, in private cases, very much in the precept, "Let not your left hand know," &c. In public charities, while parade is abominable, I think the Christian ought not to shrink from openly acting up to the true Christian standard, on the principle of "Let your light shine before men."

Second day morning, 12th mo., 28th, 1846. We were favoured with good and fairly attended meetings yesterday, and a good time after the evening reading. Two deaths have occurred in our circle, one of nurse Norman in her ninetieth year, we reverently believe in peace; the other that of my long loved and greatly esteemed brother-in-law, Samuel Hoare. He was at the Refuge on fourth, the Bank on fifth, and public worship on sixth days; pursuing his active, honourable, and useful course to the end, just

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as he would most have wished to do. He was possessed of lively piety, and great perseverance in his Christian course. Can we for a moment doubt that he rests in peace? I was very uncomfortable and poorly last night, and feel a good deal indisposed this morning. Yet I think I may venture to the District Committee for a short time.

The foregoing was the last memorandum penned by Joseph John Gurney. On his return from the Committee of the District Visiting Society, which he attended with difficulty, he complained of great exhaustion, feverishness, &c. A few simple remedies were administered, but, the uncomfortable symptoms remaining, his medical man was summoned on the following morning. At first, however, he had no apprehension of a serious termination of the malady: and the calmness and cheerfulness of the invalid were calculated to inspire the hope of a speedy recovery. Yet there had been for many months, such a remarkable winding up of his earthly concerns, such an obvious preparation for a holier inheritance, that his anxiously interested friends and relatives could not but entertain the conviction that the *end was near*.

The summer had been one of peculiar enjoyment to him; everything gave him pleasure, and he frequently observed, whilst roaming over his delightful lawns and gardens, "I never saw this dear old place look so lovely before—my cup is full of blessings." The warmth and brightness of the weather no doubt contributed to his enjoyment, but it also seemed as if the dawning of that new sense was breaking in upon him, which apprehends those good and glorious things, "which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive;"—as if he had even then a little foretaste of eternal joy. His love of nature was at all times remarkably strong, but it

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appeared to be greatly increased during the last few months of his life; and perhaps there were few to whom the beautiful words of the poet would more fittingly apply:—

His are the mountains, and the valleys his,
And the resplendent rivers—his to enjoy
With a propriety that none can feel,
But who, with filial confidence inspired,
Can lift to heaven an unpresumptuous eye,
And smiling say, "My Father made them all!"
Are they not his, by a peculiar right,
And by an emphasis of interest his;
Whose eye they fill with tears of holy joy,
Whose heart with praise, and whose exalted mind,
With worthy thoughts of that unwearied love,
That planned, and built, and still upholds, a world
So clothed with beauty, for rebellious man?

During the greater part of the summer he was unusually vigorous, and appeared to be very desirous of fulfilling the numerous demands that were made upon him. Indeed, it was evident that he was dwelling under a solemn consciousness that "Time is short"—that we must "work while it is called *to-day*." He had several engagements in hand, which cost him considerable exertion both of mind and body, and when they were completed, he smilingly observed, "Now I believe I may say, I have at least set my *outward* house in order, which is a great comfort." On the confidence being expressed, that not the outward house only, but the spiritual building also was in readiness, he replied, "I trust, through *pardoning mercy*, that it may be so, but of myself I am the very poorest and the most infirm of human creatures." It was truly instructive to observe, that, with an earnest and abiding endeavour to maintain a conscience void of offence towards God and man, so deep was his humility, that he invariably spoke of himself as falling far short of the mark; frequently saying he had the most debasing sense of all his own performances, and

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the strongest conviction, that, if he were saved at last, "it would be all of grace; the free, full, pardoning mercy of God in Christ Jesus." The depth of the riches of the love of Christ, the fulness and universality of divine grace, were the themes on which he delighted to dwell; and the following was among the Scripture texts from which he derived especial consolation:—"Let Israel hope in the Lord, for with the Lord there is mercy, and with him is *plenteous redemption*, and he shall redeem Israel from all his iniquities." During the last few months it was his regular practice to commit a hymn to memory while dressing in the morning, and the ease and facility with which this was accomplished were very striking. The "Waiting Soul," was one of his particular favourites. How often was he heard feelingly to repeat the stanza which contains the lines:—

> And every door is shut but one,
> And that is *mercy's* door!

In the seventh month he had obtained a minute to visit all the little meetings of Friends which compose the Quarterly Meeting of Norfolk and Norwich, and to appoint others, with those not professing with Friends, should his mind be drawn to the service. This gave him an opportunity of personal communication with almost all the little flock, over whom, it might in truth be said, "the Holy Ghost had made him an 'overseer.'" Some of the public meetings which he held on this occasion were very large, and eminently favoured; and the testimonies delivered in the meetings for Friends were remarkably clear and powerful; so that it may truly be said to have been a bright winding up of his ministerial career. At the conclusion of the last meeting, which was held about a fortnight previous to his illness, he observed, that he did not see anything more

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before him, and that he was almost inclined to believe his work in *this* way was done.

He greatly enjoyed his last visit to Darlington; the little companies of friends and relatives which gathered round him in the early autumn; his quiet settled evenings with his own home party; in short, the world seemed clothed for *him* in smiles and sunshine. But upon hearing of the sufferings of the Irish poor, his deepest sympathies were awakened, and, for several weeks, his exertions on their behalf were unremitting. He not only contributed largely to their relief himself, but wrote many letters to his friends and acquaintance urging them to do the same; until at last, feeling thoroughly oppressed by a sense of the extent of their calamity, he observed, "I think I had rather not hear any more of these affecting statements, they are almost too much for me. I believe I can do no more, and therefore I must try to leave the subject." This he was enabled, in good measure, to do; and he then gave his mind with renewed earnestness to the claims of the NORWICH POOR; in many instances increasing his annual subscriptions, and devising new channels for their relief. It was on his return from a meeting of the District Society, on the 22nd of the 12th month, in which he made a warm and impressive appeal on their behalf, that his horse fell, and threw him, in descending Orford Hill; and although his friends were not aware of his being seriously injured at the time, there is no doubt that the accident was the exciting cause of the illness which terminated in death. On the following day he complained a little of his back, but attended a committee in the morning, and in the evening the meeting of ministers and elders, preparatory to the Quarterly Meeting, in which he was memorably engaged to the tendering of many hearts. When he sat down there was a heavenly solemnity to be

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felt, and some who were present were impressed with the belief, that they should never all meet together there again. An awful sense was given of a great change being at hand.

The ensuing week he continued to attend to his various avocations with increasing diligence; driving to and from Norwich, in his pony-chair, during the inclement, snowy weather, because, he said, "it looked self-indulgent to use the carriage now he was so well." His old nurse, who had occupied a cottage in the park for eighty years, was in her dying illness, and he repeatedly called in and ministered to her.

On first day morning, the 27th of the twelfth month, as he was setting off with his family to meeting, he received the tidings of the sudden death of his valued brother-in-law, Samuel Hoare. He heard them with calmness, and was closely exercised in ministry during the meeting, dwelling much and impressively on the text—"Thine are we, David, and on thy side, thou son of Jesse. Peace, peace be to thee, and peace be to thy helpers, for God helpeth thee." On his return home he alluded to the removal of his brother Buxton, and his sister Fry; and remarked, with strong emphasis, "We four were closely banded together in benevolent objects for many years, and I, who was the most delicate, am now the only one remaining. I feel *this seriously*." He then walked down to the cottage of his old nurse to look at her remains, she having died a few days previously. An expression of sweet serenity dwelt upon his countenance as he stood by the coffin in her little chamber, and he seemed to have a sense of her rest and blessedness as he exclaimed, "Poor old nurse! she appears to have passed away most peacefully. Oh what a favour! may it be so with *me* when my turn comes!" At the close of the afternoon meeting, he bowed the knee in very solemn

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prayer, adverting to the great uncertainty of all things temporal, and fervently petitioning that "every hindering and obstructing thing might be done away; and we prepared, through the abounding riches of redeeming love, to join the countless company who now surround the throne, ascribing glory and honour, salvation and strength, to the Lord God Omnipotent, and to the Lamb." The deep and touching pathos of his voice, and the earnestness of the appeal, caused a thrilling sensation in many hearts, and the question arose, "Can it be possible that that voice will never more be heard within these walls?" During the Scripture reading with the villagers at the Hall in the evening, he was engaged in a striking manner on the awful consequences of delaying preparation for a dying hour, alluding very instructively to the two deaths which had just occurred, and ending with the impressive exhortation—"Be ye also ready, for at such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh." These were his last words in ministry with the servants and cottagers collectively; speedily and solemnly were they confirmed by the event which followed!

On second day morning, the 28th, he attended the committee of the District Visiting Society, as intimated in the last entry in his Journal above given, and returned home in a state of great exhaustion. But his medical man pronounced it a slight bilious attack, and seemed to have no anxiety about his recovery. It is very apparent, from his private journals, that Joseph John Gurney had a strong constitutional dread of *death*; and the peacefulness, and almost painlessness of his illness, may surely be reckoned among those "sparing mercies," to which he often and feelingly alluded. He had frequently spoken of his natural sensitiveness to pain, and expressed a fear that he should not

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have fortitude to meet the sufferings of a dying hour; and, on the remark being made on one occasion, that the near approach of death was often, in mercy, veiled from the view, or we were so shielded as not to be sensible of its gloom, he answered—"Yes, we are very tenderly dealt with; and I have sometimes thought, through *sparing mercy*, that it might be so with me,"—repeating, with a beaming expression of countenance, those beautiful lines on the death of a believer:—

"One gentle sigh their fetters breaks,
We scarce can say they're gone,
Before the willing spirit takes
Its mansion near the throne."

Remarkably was this verified in his experience. So easily sloped, so gently smoothed, was his passage to the silent tomb, that it might be truly said, death had no sting, the grave no victory. Everything that was done for him excited his gratitude; his heart overflowed with affection to those around him; and, when any of the servants came into the room, he would employ them in some little office of kindness, knowing it would gratify them to be so employed.

He liked to hear a portion of the Scriptures every day, and was much interested in the Life of William Allen, &c. One morning the hymn was read to him which commences with the words

Rejoice for a brother deceased,
Our loss is his infinite gain.

The last verse he appeared to feel particularly; exclaiming, at the conclusion, "delightful, that is indeed delightful."

On fifth day night he was low and sorrowful; for a little moment his Saviour seemed to have hidden his face from him, and he said in a tone of sadness, "I feel so

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devoid of any good, and as if I had no power to lift up my heart in prayer." It was remarked, that we have a merciful High Priest, who is touched with a feeling of our infirmities, and who sees and knows the desire of the hearts of his children, even when we have no ability to manifest it; to which he sweetly replied, "that's true, that's very true, and I think I may rest there."

Sixth day was altogether a low day. In the evening, after a short time of profound stillness, he broke forth in strains of solemn, fervent prayer. This was rendered more impressive by the touching feebleness of his voice. It was evidently a relief to him, and he had a quiet night; but on seventh day, although both nourishment and stimulants had been pretty freely administered, his strength was decidedly failing. As this state of things continued, it was determined, on first day afternoon, to send for a physician from London, who was requested to come down immediately by special train. During the morning he several times alluded to "The Declaration of Faith," which had been sent to America a few months previously,* observing, "It would have been a great satisfaction to me to have heard how that testimony is likely to answer. I believe I had the right sanction for sending it, and trust it will be useful to Friends." In the course of the day, a note was received from a Friend, expressive of cordial approbation of it, and of a full persuasion "that it would prove an instrument of good to the Society, clearing the views of the honest-hearted, and convincing the gainsayers that they had both misunderstood and misrepresented him." This seemed like a message sent to cheer him at this solemn hour. On his being made acquainted with it, a sunny smile lit up his pallid countenance, and he appeared to accept it as a token

* See *supra*, p. 477.

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that a blessing would descend on *this*, his latest effort with the pen, to uphold those spiritual views and Christian testimonies which he had unflinchingly supported and proclaimed for more than thirty years; and which he continued to believe were founded in the *very truth*. In the evening his mind wandered a little, as it had done the evening before; yet it was interesting to observe the marked indications of his habitual self-control and self-collectedness, even during these short periods of occasional rambling. About eleven o'clock, on second day morning, Dr. Prout arrived. He had often consulted him in London, seemed pleased to hear he was in the house, and wished him asked up immediately. When he entered the room he welcomed him cheerfully, and gave him an exact account of all his symptoms. It was a moment of intensely touching interest. Prout took the patient's hand in his, sought for his pulse, gave an expressive look at Dalrymple, and hastening away to conceal the feelings which almost overpowered him, he unhesitatingly pronounced him a *dying man!* Deeply affecting as was this announcement to his tenderly attached connexions, they felt it a duty still to use every effort to increase his strength, in the fond hope that the physician might have been mistaken, and that he yet possessed the power to rally. But all proved unavailing. Soon after his last interview with Prout, he fell into a profound sleep, which continued till about five o'clock, when a sudden gleam of heavenly pleasure lighted up his countenance; and, turning towards his wife, he sweetly said, "I think I feel a little joyful," and again dropped into a tranquil slumber. Soon after this he sank lower and lower; unconsciousness came on, and such of his deeply afflicted family as were favoured to be present at this awful hour sat by his bed in perfect stillness, until his breathing had

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become imperceptible, and they knew that the spirit had returned to God who gave it. "Having served his generation by the will of God, he *fell asleep*." So gently did his spirit pass away, so sweet was the peace shed on his departure, that for some moments his bereaved family almost lost the consciousness of their own irreparable loss, in the blessed sense that was given them of the fulness of his joy.*

His death took place on the 4th of the 1st month, 1847, in his 59th year. The event at once awakened a deep and intense feeling throughout a widely extended circle. "The loss to this world," writes one of his earliest friends, in "the withdrawal of such a man, the removal of such an example, the quenching of such a light, is more and greater than any one of us can imagine." These were reflections that doubtless filled many hearts as they turned towards themselves, and those who were left behind; whilst, on his account, the blessed assurance was granted that all was rest, and peace, and everlasting love.

The sensation in Norwich and its neighbourhood cannot easily be described; and is probably without precedent in the case of a mere private individual. During the entire interval of seven days, between his decease and the funeral, the half closed shops, and the darkened windows of the private houses, gave unequivocal testimony of the feelings of the inhabitants.

"It has furnished," says an eye-witness, "the principal topic of conversation in every family, in every private circle, in every group by the way-side. Persons of all classes and of every age, however various in opinion on other subjects, have united in their high estimate of the character of the deceased, and in the

* The foregoing account is taken from memoranda made at the time by one of Joseph John Gurney's family.

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melancholy satisfaction of recalling excellencies of which now, alas! the memory alone remains. Each individual has had his own story to tell of some public benefit, or of some kindness shown to others or himself; and innumerable acts of beneficence, long forgotten amidst the crowd of more recent instances, have been related and listened to with the mournful pleasure incident to such a theme. The very street gossip of Norwich during the past week, if it could have been collected and recorded, would doubtless furnish an almost unparalleled tribute to departed worth.*

"The funeral itself, as might have been expected from these unusual preliminaries, was an extraordinary scene. The entire

* Thoroughly as Joseph John Gurney's religious views and feelings, as a member of the Society of Friends, were understood, it was observed, as among the many striking proofs of the estimation in which he was held by his fellow-citizens, that the subject of his death was at the time publicly adverted to in most of the places for religious worship in Norwich, and amongst the rest, by the Bishop, (the late Bishop Stanley,) in the Cathedral. The apology made by the Bishop on the occasion, for venturing upon such a subject, affords no mean testimony at once of his high estimate of Joseph John Gurney's character as a Christian *Quaker*, and of his own well-known Catholicity of mind.

"He who is removed from amongst us, and whose loss every member of our church must deplore, it is true, was not of our community; but who will be bold enough in intolerance to say that thereby, or in consequence thereof, his salvation was in jeopardy? Can we doubt that he, whose peaceful life was one unwearied comment on evangelical charity in its fullest and most expanded sense,—of whom it may be said to the very letter, that when the ear heard him, then it blessed him, when the eye saw him, it gave witness to him, because he delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless,—their blessing came upon him, for he caused the hearts of all and each to sing for joy;—to say, I repeat, or to give a moment's heed to a doubt of his acceptance with God, on the ground of his differing from us in church membership, would be indeed, and in verity, a mockery of the Bible, a perversion of gospel truth, a libel upon Christianity itself. Let it not be said that I am giving utterance to an opinion at variance with the language of our Church, in its 18th article, which maintains, and justly maintains, that he is censurable who 'presumes to say that every man shall be saved by the law or sect that he professeth.' Far be such a sentiment from me, believing, as I do, in the words of that same article, setting out unto us only the name of the Lord Jesus Christ whereby man must be saved. And a firmer believer in the merits of that Saviour it might be difficult to find, than the humble-minded Christian of whom I am now speaking." See Life of Bishop Stanley, by his son, pp. 163—164.

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city suspended business, in order to witness or to take part in it. A number of gentlemen, among whom were the Mayor, the ex-Mayor, and the Sheriff, went out in carriages as far as Earlham Hall, about two miles distant from Norwich. Other persons, including a large portion of the scholars of Palace Street British Schools, walked to the same spot. The procession set out from Earlham at about ten o'clock. It consisted of the hearse, and the carriages containing the relatives, followed by the equipages which had arrived from Norwich, making in all more than fifty, and accompanied by a considerable number on foot. It was understood to be the wish of the family, that no empty carriages should attend. A simplicity, in harmony alike with the practice of the Society of Friends, and with the habits and character of the departed, marked all the arrangements. As was fitting in such a case, there was no parade, no hired sorrow, no needless *insignia* of grief. As the procession moved on towards the city, it was met by a gradually increasing number of the inhabitants, who had issued forth in a continuous stream to pay their last tribute to the memory of Joseph John Gurney. Silently and sadly they stood while the hearse passed slowly by; and many a tearful countenance, among the crowd, bore witness to their sympathy with the surviving relatives, and their reverential attachment to the dead.* All, however, appeared to be impressed with the solemnity of the occasion, and with the desire to preserve a becoming order.

"At St. Giles' gate, a body of Sunday School Teachers, to the number of about two hundred, joined the procession, already greatly swollen by numbers; and which, continually growing as it went along, slowly passed on to the burying ground attached to the Friends' meeting-house in the Gildencroft. At about half-

* The event was especially felt by the school children of the poor. "The Workhouse children," says a private letter on the occasion, "boys and girls, when they heard the hearse coming, ran sobbing into the front chamber, where their mistress was, and were so violently affected, she feared they would fall from the windows. The whole effect of his death," continues the writer, "and the way in which it has been kept and honoured, is, I believe, unequalled almost in public history."

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past eleven the hearse arrived at the narrow gateway leading to the burying ground, from whence the coffin was borne to the grave by six members of the Society of Friends, followed by the mourners.

"After the procession had surrounded the grave, a profound silence ensued, according to the simple but solemnly appropriate practice of the 'Friends.' This was, at length, broken by a brief reference to the 55th, 56th, and 57th verses of the 15th chapter of the 1st of Corinthians. 'O death where is thy sting? O grave where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the law. But thanks be to God which giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ!' Another pause took place, followed by another address. The coffin was then lowered. It was an impressive and affecting moment. The circle of mourning relatives, the surrounding crowd of spectators—scarcely less moved or less attached to the deceased—persons of all ranks, of all ages, of all communions, magistrates and artizans, clergymen and dissenting ministers, Churchmen, Independents, Baptists, Methodists, and Friends—in short, representatives of the whole population of Norwich now took their last farewell of Joseph John Gurney; slowly turning their footsteps towards the meeting-house, where a meeting for religious worship was to be held. The occasion was deeply impressive, and, pervaded as it was throughout by the spirit of pure, Evangelical, Catholic Christianity, formed an appropriate conclusion to the funeral of such a man.

"Thus terminated the proceedings of a day when the simple obsequies of a private individual were converted by the whole body of his fellow-citizens into a memorial of his exalted virtues, and of their irreparable loss."*

* From the Norfolk News of the 16th of the 1st mo., [January,] 1847. The account of Joseph John Gurney printed in this Journal, was written by his long esteemed and much valued friend John Alexander, and though necessarily brief, contains a striking and impressive portraiture of his life and character. It was afterwards revised and published in a more convenient form, under the title of a Brief Memoir of Joseph John Gurney.

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So was he loved and honoured even in death. It were easy to multiply the proofs of the deep and lasting impression which he had made upon those who fell within the range of his influence. But such an attempt must at best very inadequately disclose that which can only be fully discovered when the secrets of all hearts are made manifest. It will be more instructive, in connexion with the marked and impressive testimony thus borne, by sorrowing multitudes, to a life long devoted to the services of pure and undefiled religion, to recur once more, in conclusion, to that humble view of himself, that true and deep sense of his own nothingness and entire dependence upon God, which had given brightness and maturity to his character, and in which lay the secret of his strength and of his joy.

"From me most assuredly," are his emphatic words, in the short preface to his Autobiography, "all boasting is excluded. If it has been given me to partake of some poignant sorrows, they were no more than I deserved; if ten thousand pleasures and enjoyments have been poured into my lap, they have been bestowed of the pure bounty of God; if a measure of intellectual activity and power has fallen to my lot, it is his gift alone, a gift very inadequately used for a purpose of his glory; and, above all, if I have had the happiness of knowing and loving the Saviour, and of serving him at the cost of much that I have held dear, it is not of myself, but *all* of GRACE. All of grace most assuredly it is, that I have not fallen a prey to the deceiver and accuser of man; and that, while the Lord has condescended to employ me in his service, I have been permitted to entertain the blessed hope of a glorious immortality, where sin and sorrow are known no more."

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RECOLLECTIONS OF JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY,

BY HIS DAUGHTER.

(Written principally for her Son, in the brief interval between her Father's decease and her own.)

Animus vero, non me deserens, sed respectans, in ea profecto loca discessit, quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum.—*Cicero de Senect.*

The earliest impression which I can distinctly recall of my dearest father, was in the East room, at Earlham, which he used as his own, after my mother's death. As very little children, we were in the habit of being with him while he dressed in a morning, and I well remember that he kindly allowed me to use, as my playthings, the things he kept in his pockets. His countenance and figure are so impressed on my mind, as they appeared in later years, that I cannot call up a distinct image of him as he must have been then. Yet surely I *do* remember him with his brown hair, his high colour, and his beaming countenance. At the time I am speaking of, (three years after my mother's death,) I think his face wore a grave, yet always peaceful expression; and he was ready at all times for a good game of play with us. But he was leading a very busy life, and we were consequently very little with him. Another picture that I have of him in my mind is when standing in the garden near the hall door, delighting in the flowers, as he always did, and watching my brother and me who were playing about him. I can now see his eye resting with intense delight, on "Jacky" as he called him, (a name

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which no one else was to use,) and whose originality and talent were a source of constant interest and pleasure to him. On our part we were excessively fond of our father—at the same time *his word was law;* it never entered our minds, I believe, openly to disobey him; and I am reported to have been in the habit of informing visitors, that "papa required implicit obedience." We were very little children when he began occasionally to take us into his study, for times of religious retirement and prayer. After sitting a short time in silence, he would often kneel down, and pour forth his prayers in the most simple words he could use. I think I never shall forget the very great solemnity; the holy, and to me, as a little child, the almost awful feeling of some of these occasions. We continued this practice, at times, till he went to America, and I well remember when he gave us some parting religious advice at that time, that he spoke with comfort of these seasons of retirement, and said that he hoped he had in some measure fulfilled his paternal duty, in endeavouring to train us in the habit of prayer. It was a subject he constantly pressed on our attention, begging us to be most regular in reading the Scriptures to ourselves, in private, morning and evening, and in endeavouring to wait upon the Lord. Having mentioned this subject, I think I must not omit another which he also very frequently pressed on our attention, so that they are connected in my mind, as those on which he spoke to us the most often and the most earnestly. This was the immediate and perceptible guidance of the Holy Spirit, a doctrine which he endeavoured to explain to us, and the practical application of which he tried to make us feel, even at a very early age;—"the golden clue," as he called it, a clue by which he was himself led, both in small things and great, more than any other person that I ever knew. As we grew up, and as our intimacy with him deepened, we saw in himself, I think I may say, a striking exemplification of his own views.

But I must return to our childhood. As soon as we could read, it was our daily office to read a psalm to him in the early morning. Deeply serious and attentive was his countenance at

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these times. When once this habit was begun, he could not bear us to spend the time in any other way, never allowing us to talk to him, but making us read until he was quite dressed. I do not think that at that very early period we had any other Bible reading with him than this, (except, of course, the regular family reading.) Religious instruction, however, we had much from him in the way of conversation. Often while we were taking a ramble in the park, he would endeavour to impress upon us the great doctrines of Christianity, and especially the peculiar principles of Friends. He was strict with us about using the plain language, and before we could fully understand the reason for it, the habit was completely established, so that though we were constantly with people not Friends, we never had the least difficulty in using it. His anxiety and feeling on this subject are among the points which I most vividly remember from my very early childhood. But while he thus endeavoured to cultivate a taste for our own peculiar path, he was always ready to acknowledge the good in those who did not, in everything, agree with him, and freely allowed us to associate with the great variety of guests who, at this time, frequented Earlham. Strong, indeed, is my impression of the warm welcome he gave to all "the excellent of the earth," of whatever sect or position in life. He delighted in the society of such; and when religion was united with fine intellectual powers, their company was quite a feast to him. He always acted on the principle of "learning something from every one," and early advised us to do the same. One of our most frequent and most welcomed visitors at this time, was Henry Tacy; a very kind friend to us as children, and I think my dear father must have much enjoyed his company. I can well remember watching them in many an earnest and interesting conversation. Such visitors we frequently had, but it is striking to me to remember how he kept up our respect for a different class, I mean the Norfolk Friends, who always found a warm welcome at Earlham. He used to say the Quarterly Meeting suppers put him in mind of the "love-feasts" of the early Christians. He certainly trained us to treat travelling minister-

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ing Friends with the greatest respect, I was going to say reverence; and their coming to Earlham was always a pleasure to us all. There is no one who was more cordially welcomed by him, in these early days, than Jonathan Hutchinson. He was a *picturesque* person, his white hair hanging almost to his shoulders; his countenance full of dignity and peace. I well remember my dear father's affectionate attention to him. He used to say "he was a thorough Christian gentleman, refined by nature and by grace." I was about seven years old when our father left us for a long journey in Ireland, a circumstance which I mention chiefly for the sake of recording our intense joy at his return. I shall never forget the feeling of receiving him at our Brighton lodgings, where we had been staying with my aunt Rachel Gurney, who was there for the benefit of her health. How I did jump when I saw him, screaming out "it is papa, it is papa," without the least power of running to meet him! And I have vividly before me his countenance at that moment, showing a perfect counterpart of our joy! We returned home soon after this, and the next event of importance was his bringing our new "mamma" to Earlham. It was one of our lovely Norfolk evenings, in early autumn, when they arrived. We children were waiting for them in anxious expectation, when the carriage drove up. I was awed at being introduced to my new mamma, for I had never seen her before, but was directly at ease with her; and I can fancy that I caught his evident happiness. * * *

I cannot attempt to give the history of the next few years, but will just mention those points which made the strongest impression on me. I have no doubt his married life was a very happy one, though our mother's delicate health often brought him into much anxiety. They particularly enjoyed their Greek Testament readings, after breakfast, in the sitting-room. This was a time they were never to be interrupted; after that, my father went into his study, and was closely engaged in writing, only walking for a few minutes in the garden, "thinking out a sentence," as we children used to say. At twelve his horse came round; and, as I sat at my lessons, I used to hear him run up-stairs to take

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leave of my mother, and then ride off to the Bank. He often came back at three or four, and called directly for her to take a walk with him. We dined in those days at five, and I have since thought how good it was for us that we were early transferred from the nursery to the dining-room, and had all our meals with the family. This gave us the opportunity of being with them more than we otherwise could. But we always went to lessons again after dinner. The only exception to this was sometimes in the summer, when we all took delightful walks together in the beautiful evenings. Most happy are the remembrances of some of those rambles in the park and meadows! Our aunt Catherine continued to reside at Earlham, and took a most valuable part in our education. My dear father always enjoined it upon us to treat her with the greatest respect and affection, often telling us how very much he owed to her himself. As we grew older he took more part in the superintendence of our studies, especially in the Bible; often giving us subjects on which to find texts, a plan which he thought particularly calculated to excite our interest in the study of the Scriptures, and which was always a pleasure to us. He was very particular about our Latin lessons, and wished us to begin Greek, that we might read the New Testament with him. I believe it was a great effort for him to make up his mind to send John Henry to school, and every succeeding holiday I remember how heartily he felt his going. He often wrote to him, and frequently letters of serious advice. "Exercise for the body, learning for the intellect, religion for the soul." This I remember was a sentence in one of his letters, and earnestly did he press all upon him, but especially the last. He seldom parted from me, for any visit, without a word of caution and advice. Just as I was going off to Northrepps one day, he whispered to me, "Keep near to that which will keep thee"—words which have returned to me often and often, for my help. Most bitterly did he suffer if he saw us, even as children, doing wrong. I painfully remember the sorrow of seeing him weep, when I was very young, because he thought I had been persevering in a falsehood. It was a punishment far greater than any other he

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could inflict; yet it was the means of increasing my extreme reverence for my father; all my feelings became more tender to him after having caused him so much pain, and I felt the value of such a friend, when my young mind was oppressed with the sense of sin.

During the next few years my father was often from home on his religious engagements. The longest of these absences was his journey in Scotland, when he was laid up with his lame leg in Edinburgh, during which time that delightful little MS., the Chalmeriana, was written. Surely his habit of making the most of every circumstance that could turn to profit, was one of the most striking features in his character. Never to "miss an opportunity," was one of his mottos. He was in the practice of recording any incident of interest in the shape of letters to his children. To this we owe his little MSS. about Wilberforce and our Grandmother Fowler, and the afternoon at Cambridge, and morning at Oxford.* He had great accuracy of memory, and a remarkable power of putting down conversation, without losing its spirit. I well remember the afternoon he spent with Simeon, when I was with him, how busily he occupied himself the next morning, as we travelled in the carriage, in putting down the incidents of that occasion. During these years he was very much occupied with public objects. The Bible Society and Anti-Slavery cause engaged him much, and most deep was the interest he took in them. His purse, and still more his mind and time, were always at their service, and he attended many of the county Bible Meetings. I remember his animated speeches; how he threw life into these little meetings, rousing up the indifferent by his kind manner to themselves, and by his own devotion to the cause.

One of the most marked events in each year, was the Bible Meeting party; perhaps these occasions were particularly likely to be great epochs to a child. At all events they were so to me. From the time that my dearest father put me, as a little child, on the table at dessert, to look at a party of ninety, the largest we

* See *supra* vol. i, pp 429—440; and 476—483.

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ever had, till they were discontinued, I looked forward to them as a great treat. But they were, for better reasons, occasions of extreme interest, and I have no doubt were the means of great good, in uniting many in Christian fellowship, who would otherwise have known each other only by name. Though my dearest father steadily maintained his own views as a Friend, he was always ready to give a warm welcome to the individuals who came down to attend the meetings of the Missionary and Jewish Societies, which were held in the same week with that of the Bible Society. He treated the missionaries and agents with the greatest kindness, and helped them in those parts of their objects in which he could do so consistent with his principles, especially in the distribution of the Hebrew Scriptures to the Jews, and in the School of the Missionaries. He certainly had a remarkable power of showing love and friendship towards his fellow-Christians, whilst he always openly acknowledged and maintained his own opinions on particular points. A more complete illustration of this part of his character there could not be, than in his management of the very large parties at Earlham of which I am speaking. His brothers-in-law, (my uncles Buxton and Cunningham,) who were his ready helpers on such occasions, asked whom they liked to the meetings, and certainly the dining-room, filled on those days, was no common sight. It was so different from a party called together for mere amusement: so fine a feeling pervaded the whole; while he, as master, was wonderfully able to keep up the tone of conversation, so that I should think it never sank to a mere chit-chat level. My impression is that while he greatly felt the responsibility of these occasions, he most truly enjoyed them, having often around him those whose conversation was a feast to him, such as Wilberforce, Simeon, Legh Richmond, John Cunningham, and many others.

I never saw my dear father look more beautiful than he did at the bottom of those long tables. As soon as the cloth was removed, he would extract their various stores of information from different individuals in the most happy manner. Thus the time was turned to account, and I have no doubt these days

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were often very profitable to many, as it was his most earnest desire they should be. His own loving spirit was caught by all around, and I must believe it was in great measure owing to the depth of his charity that there was such remarkable unity among those whom he assembled around him. Dear old H. Scarnell, (a worthy Friend who had lived some years at Earlham, in the capacity of housekeeper,) always came on the day of the Bible meeting, and I have often heard her relate with delight, how one day she came late, when all were seated, and she was about to retreat from the dining-room, seeing no place for *her*, when my father caught sight of her, called after her most kindly, and placed her, as she expressed it, "between himself and Lady Jane, in the very first seat in the room." I have before said, how careful he was to be attentive to guests of every degree, and these occasions would furnish abundant proof that he was peculiarly kind to those who might feel themselves a little less grand than their neighbours. His own ministry, at the family readings, was very striking and impressive. There was often a religious opportunity in the course of the evening, beside the usual readings, and these were generally very solemn occasions. * * *

My father was devotedly attached to his brothers and sisters. If I might single out one with whom he was especially united, I should say it was my beloved uncle Buxton. His noble and enlarged intellect, joined as it was to the simplicity and humility of a Christian, and devoted to the highest purposes, was peculiarly genial to my dearest father, while my uncle's enjoyment of Friends' meetings, and "Friendly" doings, gave a peculiar harmony to their intercourse. They were often together; and he was one of my uncle's warmest and steadiest supporters in all his undertakings, and almost equalled him in the deep interest he took in them. * * *

Truly did he teach us by example, as well as precept, when he utterly discouraged all criticism on other persons; he could not bear the least approach to satire, and never allowed us to condemn anybody. If a remark, tending to disparage another,

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was made, he always apologized for them, and when he could not do this with truth, he never would allow us as children to take upon us the office of judge. This was the case with all; but when it came to serious people, to ministers, he was, if possible, still stronger on the subject, discouraging every remark on their peculiar manner or address, and only urging us to learn all we could from such. I should think there was seldom a house where there was so little gossip about *persons;* for his own loving spirit and elevated tone of mind had a powerful influence, not only on those about him, but on passing guests and visitors. Another thing against which he was most careful to guard us, was the slightest disrespect, or even familiarity, in our manner of speaking on serious subjects. Some of the young people with whom we associated, were in the habit of quoting texts of Scripture on common occasions, not in ridicule, but in a careless way: this he never allowed; and he so impressed upon us the impropriety of thus disregarding the difference between the Scriptures and other books, that I cannot now hear such a thing done without real pain. I think he was remarkable for bringing religion to bear on every event in life, and letting us *see* that he did so; while, at the same time, he never weakened the feeling of reverence due to the subject. He was much in the habit of referring to religious matters in his conversation with us, and I think encouraged an ease in us, in speaking of them; yet this never descended into too familiar a way of bringing them in. While he was very careful to guard us from the flattery of others, and not to praise us himself, yet he had a most encouraging influence over us; a few approving words from him were the greatest stimulus in all our occupations, while his own example of constant industry could not but *tell* upon us. I think he had a peculiar sympathy with children, and there was something almost indescribable in his gentleness towards us, even while reproving us. When I was sitting by him one day at dinner, a remark was made which he saw pained me, and I remember how concerned he looked, and how he tried, by little attentions, to

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make me feel that what was said was rather too severe. How does kindness, when a child's feelings are wounded, remain in the memory!

But it is time to pass on to later years. I was nearly fifteen when my mother died. We had a very happy summer, taking an expedition all together in Wales, during my brother's holidays. My dearest father held one or two delightful meetings in Wales, taking the opportunity, of course, of getting acquainted with any serious people. I remember going with him to the little shop of some Methodists at Conway, and his astonishing them much by asking them to breakfast. They came, however, and were deeply impressed by his kindness and his prayers for them. At Barmouth we fell in with a number of Cambridge students, and also found that Dr. Olinthus Gregory was staying there. He did not neglect the opportunity: asked them all to dinner, introduced them to the doctor, and after dinner gave them some good advice, and drew the doctor on to do the same. It might be owing to some over-exertion in this journey, that I was attacked with fever soon after our return home, and not long after my recovery, my mother was prostrated by the same complaint. Her illness was a very trying one; the Bible Meeting guests had already begun to assemble in the house; and though during their stay we did not apprehend any serious danger, yet it was of course very heavy work for my dearest father. The house was but just cleared when the symptoms became more serious, and he went through great depths of anxiety and conflict. My aunt Rachel Fowler was most happily with us, so that the weight of nursing fell on her. On the last morning we were lying on the bed in my mother's sitting room, that we might be within a moment's call; he was in deep affliction, looking to the stroke which was just about to fall upon him, and speaking to me of the future; when he said so kindly and encouragingly, "I think thou art remarkably fitted, dear, to minister to my wants." I could only answer by tears, for I felt how unequal I was to it; but I was deeply grateful for encouragement at such a moment, and I believe I did all that I could, for I felt from that time a new tie to him, and all my

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powers, such as they were, were devoted to him. It was beautiful to observe how willing he was to accept help and sympathy. He threw himself freely on us in his distress, and he was most willing to be soothed and comforted by each in their turn. This openness to sympathy made it most easy to be with him in his deep sorrow. Many of the hours we passed together I shall never forget. He was in deep suffering at times; whilst, at others, light seemed to break through all the clouds, and he looked beautifully calm and elevated in his affliction.

About this time, too, we began to read the Greek Testament regularly after breakfast;—our aunt Rachel Fowler, who was still with us and a great comfort to us all, my father, John Henry and I. When any one was with us, who liked to join us, they were always admitted, and most interesting some of these occasions were. It was a high privilege to read with one who had so deeply studied the Greek Testament, and to enjoy his fine views of Scripture truths, while his accurate knowledge of the force of the original language enabled him to give us many most interesting explanations. He was very patient with our blunderings, though it always annoyed him a little, and he tried to stir us up to be as correct as himself. I should think few, even professed theological students, had studied the Greek Testament more thoroughly than he had done. None, at all events, could more enjoy the daily reading of it.

During the year 1836 my father and I went several little journeys together; and we were often at Upton. At that time we travelled by coach, and I mention them partly for the sake of saying how he kept to his rule of never "missing an opportunity." He almost always managed to read the Scriptures to our fellow-passengers, and often led the way to profitable conversation. I don't think he ever went in these public conveyances without attempting to profit them, and he generally found willing and attentive hearers. How often have I had occasion to remark, in going about with him, what a great advantage his graceful, winning manners were to him, even in the promotion of the cause which was dearest to his heart! He used often to impress on

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John Henry the necessity of being a thorough gentleman, and showed abundantly, by his own example, that this was not in the least incompatible with the "thorough Friend."

During the autumn of 1836 he was often exceedingly oppressed, sometimes very silent. He was, indeed, under a heavy weight; for the prospect of his American journey was beginning to open upon him, though not definitely as to the time of its accomplishment.

We were at Upton on the night of the first of 1st month, 1837, and I have heard my father say, as he listened to the "ringing out" of the old year, that he felt as if the new one portended some great and solemn event to him, though he could not tell what. However, the prospect cleared before him as the spring advanced. I could not but dread it long before he spoke to me of it; but the announcement that he made of it to John Henry and me, as we drove one day to Fakenham, was almost overwhelming. He was, however, much more quiet and comfortable than he had previously been, and I was taken from my own sorrow in endeavouring to help and cheer him, through all the pain that he must necessarily go through. The day of the Monthly Meeting was truly an awful one; for early in the morning we received the account of the sudden death of my aunt, Lady Harriet, to whom we were all nearly attached, and whose end was as unexpected as it was affecting. I believe, for the moment, he almost doubted whether he could proceed with his intentions of asking for a certificate; but his mind soon became quite settled again, and a very solemn and satisfactory meeting we had. I remember how much sympathy was expressed for him, as well as the fullest unity.

In the spring of this year he attended the Yearly Meeting in Ireland, my brother and I going with him. We had an interesting time in Dublin; I have the impression of his ministry being very striking in some of the meetings for worship, and the young Friends especially flocked around him. After the Yearly Meeting we took a charming excursion to Killarney. Had it not been for the sense of approaching separation this would have been a most delightful journey. We greatly enjoyed being together,

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and he was remarkably comfortable. The beautiful scenery afforded him, as it always did, great pleasure. How he did delight in all the charms of nature! I never knew any one, I think, who enjoyed them so much, whether in the greater features of fine country, mountains, lakes, &c., or in the smaller details of birds and flowers. We returned to the Yearly Meeting in London, and afterwards to Earlham, to prepare for his start in the seventh month. My father was remarkably preserved in peace and quietness, and completed all the arrangements he wished to make for the management of his household during his absence. I was glad to be allowed to go with him to Liverpool, with my uncle and aunt Gurney, and my aunt Fry. It was rather curious that we were not many yards out of the park gate before we were nearly overturned by one of the horses kicking. We had to get hastily out of the carriage, but I shall never forget the elevated serenity of his look as he smiled and said, "the first of my dangers!" We had a remarkably interesting occasion before we got to Liverpool, in which he poured out his prayers for aunt Fry, in a way which was a great comfort to her, for she deeply felt his going, and had at the time much upon her. The parting day came. I was far too much overwhelmed to have a distinct recollection of it, but I know there was a very solemn feeling over all, and that he was much helped through every pain.

What shall I say of the long three years of his absence? I believe I may truly say I scarcely lost the sense of our separation for a *moment*.

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APPENDIX.

COPY OF THE STATEMENT OF CHRISTIAN FAITH FURNISHED BY JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY, AT THE REQUEST OF STEPHEN A. CHASE, OF SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS. See *supra.* p. 477.

Earlham, 7th mo., 26th, 1846.

Having been requested by my friend Stephen A. Chase, of Salem, Massachusetts, to furnish him with a statement of my Christian faith respecting the Holy Scriptures, the immediate and perceptible operation of the Spirit, the doctrine of justification, and that of the Trinity, (as it is called,) I have much satisfaction in complying with his request.

I. THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

My belief respecting the Scriptures of the old and New Testaments may be stated in the words of GEORGE FOX; "Concerning the Holy Scriptures, we believe they were given forth by the Holy Spirit of God, through the holy men of God, who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost: we believe they are to be read, believed, and fulfilled; (he that fulfils them is Christ;) and they are profitable for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works; and are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus: we believe the Holy Scriptures are the words of God."

See Declaration of Faith issued by George Fox and others, and presented to the Governor and Council of Barbadoes.—Evans's Exposition, p. 238.

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Also in the words of ROBERT BARCLAY; "Moreover, because they are commonly acknowledged by all to have been written by the dictates of the Holy Spirit, and that the errors which may be supposed by the injury of times to have slipped in,* are not such but that there is a sufficient clear testimony left to all the essentials of the Christian faith, we do look upon them as the only fit outward judge of controversies among Christians, and that whatsoever doctrine is contrary unto their testimony may therefore be rejected as false. And for our parts, we are very willing that all our doctrines and practices be tried by them, which we never refused, and never shall in all our controversies with our adversaries, *as the judge and test.* We shall also be very willing to admit it as a positive, certain maxim, that whatsoever any do, pretending to the Spirit, which is contrary to the Scriptures, be accounted and reckoned a delusion of the devil." *Apology, Prop.* III.

Also in the words of WILLIAM PENN; "We both love, honour, and prefer them before all books in the world: ever choosing to express our belief of the Christian faith and doctrine in the terms thereof, and rejecting all principles and doctrines whatsoever that are repugnant thereto."—*Testimony to the Truth, Evans*, p. 248.

Also in the words of the General Epistle of the YEARLY MEETING OF LONDON, for the year 1836; "It has ever been, and still is, the belief of the Society of Friends, that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were given by inspiration of God: that therefore the declarations contained in them rest on the authority of God himself; and there can be no appeal from them to any other authority whatsoever; that they are able to make us wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus, being the appointed means of making known to us the blessed truths of

* The errors here alluded to, are those of copying only, which have given rise, as is generally known, to a great number of various readings. These, for the most part, are entirely destitute of importance After a very extensive and accurate collation of manuscripts and other authorities, the text, both of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, may now be regarded as being, for all practical purposes, settled and ascertained; and the blessed result is, that the readers of Holy Writ are not deprived of a single moral principle, or a single doctrinal truth.—Note by J. J. Gurney.

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Christianity; that they are the only divinely authorised record of the doctrines which we are bound, as Christians, to believe, and of the moral principles which are to regulate our actions; that no doctrine which is not contained in them can be required of any one to be believed, as an article of faith; that whatsoever any man says or does, which is contrary to the Scriptures, though under profession of the immediate guidance of the Spirit, must be reckoned and accounted a mere delusion."*

While I fully agree with the plain testimony which has thus been always borne by Friends to the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, and do sincerely acknowledge that the doctrines and precepts contained in them are the doctrines and precepts of the Almighty himself, I also unite with Friends in objecting to the common practice of denominating the sacred volume "*the Word of God*," because I am of opinion, that this epithet, considered as a distinguishing and exclusive title, properly belongs only to Christ, of whom the Scriptures testify.

Secondly, I wish it to be clearly understood, that since the paramount authority of the Holy Scriptures over that of all other books, is a simple consequence of the fact, that they were given by inspiration of God, I must ever regard these sacred writings, pure and precious though they be, as entirely subordinate, in point of dignity and power, to the Holy Spirit from whence they came, and who is himself their true and ever living Author. And further, though they are "the appointed means of making known to us the blessed truths of Christianity," and thus "are able to make us wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus," I entertain a deep and thorough conviction that they can never impart an efficacious and saving knowledge of divine things, unless their contents are unfolded to the understanding, and impressed on the heart, by the immediate influences of that Spirit from whom they emanated. While, therefore, it is our unquestionable duty, as the Society of Friends has frequently declared, to read them diligently ourselves, and as diligently to

* This epistle was, as I understand, republished by most of the Yearly Meetings of North America.—Note by J. J. Gurney.

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teach them to our children, we ought, in the performance of this duty, reverently to depend on divine aid and illumination, remembering the words of our blessed Lord—especially applicable as they are to the present subject—"without me ye can do NOTHING."

II. THE IMMEDIATE AND PERCEPTIBLE OPERATION OF THE SPIRIT.

In reference to this great subject, I have, in the first place, plainly to declare my belief, in unison with that of Friends from their first rise to the present day, that the influence of the Holy Spirit is very far from being confined to those who have a knowledge of Holy writ, and of the incarnate, crucified, and risen Saviour of whom it testifies. On the contrary, it is my firm conviction that as Christ died for all men, so all men, through his mediation and sacrifice on the cross, are placed in a capacity for salvation, and receive a measure of divine light, which although in numberless instances shining "in darkness," and overborne by ignorance and superstition, is in its own nature pure and holy, and perceptible to the rational mind of man—so that those who believe in it, and obey it, are thereby led to fear God, and to keep his law as it is written on their hearts; that such as these are accepted for Christ's sake, even though they may never have heard his name; and thus sharing in the benefit of his atoning death on the cross, through faith in the degree of light bestowed upon them, they are to be regarded as partakers, *in their measure, and according to their capacity*, of the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

In stating this point I do not forget that the heathen world, both in ancient and modern times, has been found, generally speaking, in a state of great blindness and degradation, as compared with that part of mankind which has the outward knowledge of Christ, and that their moral responsibility is small in proportion; and I freely confess my belief (also in unison with Friends from their first origin until now) that the immediate and perceptible guidance and government of the Holy Spirit, are

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pre-eminently enjoyed by true believers in Christ—the living members of the Christian Church. To these was addressed the language—"Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things;" and again, "The anointing which ye have received of him abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you: but as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is truth and is no lie, and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him:" 1 John ii, 20—27. Although directly miraculous gifts, and that extraordinary measure of inspiration which the apostles received, were peculiarly adapted to the first settlement of Christianity in the world, and (without daring to limit the operations of divine power) we do not look for them in the present day, yet I am well assured that the promise of the Holy Ghost as a perceptible guide to truth and righteousness, and as the only qualifier for the exercise of those gifts which are instrumental for the edification and enlargement of the church, were not confined to primitive days, but are the inheritance of the people of God, under the gospel dispensation, to the end of time. That promise was not only to the first believers, but to their children, and to all that were afar off, even to as many as the Lord their God should call: Acts ii, 39. The Holy Ghost, the Comforter, was to abide with the church "for ever:" John xiv, 16. "As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord (to Israel's Messiah;) MY SPIRIT THAT IS UPON THEE, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever:" Isaiah lix, 21.

If I am asked in what respects, according to my belief, the immediate and perceptible operation of the Holy Spirit is experienced by true Christians, I answer,

First, in that divine teaching and illumination by which the truths of our holy religion are made clear to the mind, and by which the mind is brought into such a condition, as to be able fully to receive and appropriate them; more especially in deepening those convictions of sin, and strengthening that living faith, of which the Spirit himself is the very Source and Author.

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Secondly, in the application of the general moral principles declared in Scripture, to every particular exigency or question which may arise in the course of our lives—there being a swift witness for God within us, instructing our conscience, and plainly showing us, on every successive occasion which requires it, in what way that love to God and man which is the fulfilling of the law, is to be brought into practice—what we ought to do, as responsible moral agents, and what to leave undone. And here I would remark, that according to my apprehension of the subject, it is *on this ground*, in connexion with a simple obedience to the precepts of our Lord and his apostles, that Friends have so long been led to bear an open practical testimony against war in all its forms, against oaths under whatsoever circumstance or pretext, against the sin of trading in our fellow-men, and of holding them in slavery, against the vain amusements and heartless dissipation of the world, against extravagance and useless ornament in dress or furniture, and against all that is opposed to Christian simplicity and truth, in the modes of behaviour and address current amongst men.

Thirdly, in the call to his own particular line of duty, of every living member of the church, for the welfare of the body, and for the advancement of the cause of truth and righteousness; seeing that "the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man *to profit withal*:" 1 Cor. xii, 7;—an office of the Comforter wholly independent of the sacred records; for while Scripture abounds in descriptions of spiritual gifts, and of their true origin and operation, the call of the individual member of the church to the exercise of any particular gift, is a matter which belongs to the hidden counsels and sole prerogative of the Saviour himself; and is made known to the Christian only by the immediate and perceptible light and guidance of the Holy Spirit. These remarks apply with especial force to the gift or office of the Christian ministry. I am one with the Society of Friends in openly declaring my conviction, that it is the great Head of the Church alone who selects and ordains his own ministers, calls them into his service, qualifies them by his Spirit for the performance of it,

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and graciously directs them as to the time, place, and matter of their communications—the immediate putting forth and anointing of the Holy Ghost being indispensable, not only for the first entrance on the work, but for the continued exercise of it, on every successive occasion. I also believe—as Friends have always declared—that in accordance with the prophecy of Joel (ii, 28,) and with the experience of the earliest Christian believers, the "gift of prophecy"—that is, of ministry uttered under the immediate influence of the Spirit—is graciously imparted to persons of both sexes; and that as it is freely received, *so it must be communicated to others, without money and without price.* Incapable in its own nature of being appointed, provided, or hired by men, and coming from the Lord alone, it ought to be exercised in simple conformity to his will, under the immediate teaching and government of his Spirit, without any secular end in view, and for the sole purpose of the glory of God our Saviour.

Here I think it right to remark, that I fully unite with Friends in approving and maintaining their excellent practice of sitting down in silence for the public worship of Almighty God; for while this mode of worship alone consists with our principles respecting the ministry as now stated, it is peculiarly adapted to that prostration of soul before the Lord, that patient waiting upon him, and that listening to the immediate teaching of his Spirit, which are essential to the real growth in grace, and to the solid formation of the Christian character. Nor ought such a practice to be confined to public occasions, for "it is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth; he *sitteth alone and keepeth silence* because he hath borne it upon him; he putteth his mouth in the dust, if so be there may be hope:" Lam. iii, 27—29. Compare *Robert Barclay on Immediate Revelation, universal and saving light, worship and ministry: Apology, Prop.* ii. vi. x. xi.

III. JUSTIFICATION.

By this term I understand the forgiveness and acceptance, with God, of the penitent sinner, for the sake and through the media-

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tion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood. This is a doctrine absolutely fundamental and essential in Christianity, and has always been steadily maintained by the Society of Friends. It ought, however, to be inseparably associated in our minds, with the equally important truth, that "without holiness no man can see the Lord," and that we cannot avail ourselves of the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, unless, being born again of the Spirit, we heartily repent of our sins, resolutely forsake and renounce them, and humbly endeavour, through divine aid, to walk in the light. "There is, therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit:" Rom. viii, 1. "If we walk in the light as God is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin:" 1 John ii, 7.

I can most freely subscribe to the following declarations made by the Society of Friends as a body, and by some of its most eminent members, on this cardinal and vital topic.

"Christ gave himself, his body, for the life of the whole world, and paid the debt and made satisfaction, and doth enlighten every man that comes into the world, that all through him might believe; and *he that doth not believe in the offering is condemned already.*"—*George Fox—Great Mystery*, p. 63. *Evans*, p. 29.

"Christ Jesus the Immanuel, God with us; whom all the angels must worship; Christ offered himself through the eternal Spirit without spot to God, and by his blood purges our consciences from dead works to serve the living God. And so we know that Christ, by one offering, for ever perfected them that are sanctified. And so as people walk in the light, they have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Christ cleanseth them from all sin. And Christ his own self bare our sins in his body on the tree, that we being delivered from sin should live unto righteousness—by whose stripes you are healed. And we, *being justified by the blood of Christ*, shall be saved from wrath through him; for if when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by

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the death of his Son, much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life."—*Epistle issued by the Society in* 1688: *Evans*, pp. 29, 30.

"This Jesus, who was the Foundation of the holy prophets and apostles, is our Foundation; and we believe there is no other foundation to be laid, but that which is laid, even Christ Jesus, who tasted death for every man, shed his blood for all men, is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world, according as John the Baptist testified of him, when he said, 'Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world.'"—*Letter from George Fox to the Council and Government of Barbadoes: Evans*, p. 32.

"We do not hereby intend" (that is by enforcing the necessity of obedience to the Holy Spirit) "any ways to lessen or derogate from the atonement and sacrifice of Jesus Christ; but, on the contrary, do magnify and exalt it. For as we believe all those things to have been certainly transacted which are recorded in the Holy Scriptures concerning the birth, life, miracles, sufferings, resurrection, and ascension of Christ; so we also believe that it is the duty of every one to believe it, to whom it pleases God to reveal the same; yea, we believe *it were damnable unbelief not to believe it when so declared*, but to resist that holy seed, which as minded, would lead and incline every one to believe it, as it is offered unto them."—*Robert Barclay's Apology: Evans*, p. 43.

Again, "As we believe it was necessary that Christ should come, that by his death and sufferings he might offer up himself a sacrifice to God for our sins who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, so *we believe that the remission of sins, which any partake of, is only in and by virtue of that most satisfactory sacrifice, and no otherwise.*"—*Idem.*

"In him (Christ) we have life, *and, by faith, atonement in his blood.*"—*William Penn's Works: Evans*, p. 49.

"We are led by the light and spirit of Christ, with holy reverence to confess unto the blood of Christ shed at Jerusalem, as that by which a propitiation was held forth for *the remission of the*

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sins that were past, through the forbearance of God *unto all that believe.*"—*William Penn's Works*, p. 411: *Evans*, p. 54.

"We do own *first* that the Word of God, the only begotten of the Father, did take up a body of the flesh of the Virgin Mary, who was of the seed of David, according to the Scriptures, and did the will of the Father therein, in holy obedience unto him both in life and death.

Secondly, That he did offer up the flesh and blood of that body; though not only so, for he poured out his *soul*, he poured out his life, a sacrifice or offering for sin, (do not, oh! do not stumble at it, but rather wait on the Lord to understand it; for we speak in this matter what we know,) a sacrifice unto the Father, and in it tasted death for every man, and that it is in consideration and through God's acceptance of this sacrifice for sin, that the *sins of believers are pardoned*, that God might be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus, or who is of the faith of Jesus."—*Isaac Penington; Works: Evans*, p. 87.

"Question. Are you justified by that blood of Christ that was shed at Jerusalem?"

"Answer. *By the blood of Jesus Christ*, the Son of the living God, who was the express image of the Father's glory, in whom dwelt the fulness of the Godhead really, who suffered at Mount Calvary, by Jerusalem, for sinners, *am I justified.*"—*Humfrey Smith: Evans*, p. 94.

Richard Claridge, like some other writers of our society, has treated on *Justification* as consisting of two parts; first, the forgiveness of the penitent sinner through faith in Christ crucified; and secondly, purification from sin by the power of the Holy Ghost. For my own part, I am accustomed to describe the latter by the term "*Sanctification.*" Nevertheless, I am one with him in his Christian *doctrine*. "By the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ, without us," says he, "we, *truly repenting and believing*, are through the mercy of God, *justified from the imputation of sins and transgressions that are past, as though they had never been committed*; and by the mighty work of Christ within us, the power, habits,

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and nature of sin are destroyed; that as sin once reigned unto death, even so now grace reigneth unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord; and all this is effected, not by a bare or naked act of faith, separate from obedience, but in the obedience of faith; Christ being the author of eternal salvation to none but those who obey him."—*On Justification*, p. 79.

"We do, indeed, renounce the profession of justification by the imputation of Christ, or his righteousness performed without men, by men while they are in the degenerated estate, and unconverted and unreconciled, and unborn again; for, by such profession of justification, many deceive their souls. But yet we say that righteousness *is imputed to us, and reckoned unto us, who believe in Christ, and have received him;* even the obedience and sufferings that he performed without us are ours who have received him within us, and therefore we are not reprobates; yea we do acknowledge that he wrought perfect righteousness by obedience and sufferings, and *that righteousness is ours by faith.*"—*Edward Burrough*, "*Satan's Design Defeated:*" *Evans*, p. 99.

A safer or more satisfactory declaration than this of the true doctrine of justification by faith, as it is held by every sound Christian, cannot surely be required by the most ardent advocate of evangelical truth. Those who accuse the early members of our religious society of unsoundness in Christian doctrine, are little aware how remarkably they were distinguished by a firm unbending faith in Christ as the Saviour of the world, and by that ardent love for him, which constrained them to devote themselves to his service, and to follow him faithfully, through many and deep sufferings, even unto death. Conscientiously do I affirm, that although I may have used terms somewhat different from those which some of them employed, and have occasionally taken a different view of particular passages of Scripture, we have advocated one and the same precious Truth—even the "Truth as it is in Jesus." Most willing were *they* at all times to confess—as the society has frequently done in its corporate capacity—that Jesus Christ in all his gracious offices is the only

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Foundation which can be laid in Zion; that all our hopes of salvation are in him; that it is through his perfect obedience, and propitiatory offering on the cross, that we poor sinners receive the forgiveness of our sins, and are placed in possession of a well-grounded hope, full of immortality—and that a living faith in him is the appointed means by which we are made partakers of these free mercies of God our Father. By this faith did our forefathers in the truth spiritually *eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood;* and, being richly favoured with this inward experience, they neither required nor admitted any outward ceremony, in divine worship, to remind them of the death of their Lord.

Equally willing have I always been, and still am, to acknowledge that (as they frequently declared, and as the Society itself has never failed to testify) we cannot truly come unto Christ, except the Father who hath sent him draw us—that the influence by which the Father draws us to the Son is that of the Holy Spirit, who convinces of sin, bestows true repentance, and lays the sinner prostrate at the feet of the Saviour; and finally, that except we be thoroughly cleansed from our iniquities by the baptism which saves—even the ONE baptism of Christianity, which is with the Holy Ghost—and thus become new creatures in Christ Jesus, we can never obtain that glorious inheritance which the Saviour has purchased for us with his own blood.

The following extract from a declaration of faith, issued by the YEARLY MEETING OF PHILADELPHIA, in 1828, (the time of the Hicksite separation,) is so clearly to the point, and so excellent, that I think it right to subjoin it to the quotations already given. "We believe that nothing man can do, or suffer, will atone for, or cancel his sins. They are remitted by the mercy of God, through Christ Jesus our Lord, for the sake of the sufferings and death of Christ, and it is the power and efficacy of that propitiatory offering, *upon faith and repentance,* that justifies both Jews and Gentiles from the sins that are past; and it is the power of

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Christ's spirit, in our hearts, that purifies and makes us acceptable before God. 'Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ; whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare I say at this time his righteousness; that he might be just and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus;' Rom. iii, 24—26. 'But God commendeth his love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us. Much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him. For, if when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son, much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life. And not only so, but we also joy in God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement:' Rom. v, 8—11.

"Not only do the Separatists deny the universal efficacy of the offering of our Lord, and term the imputation of his righteousness, as the ground of our acceptance, a pernicious and absurd idea, but they appear to rejoice in the hope, that the doctrine will be discarded, as the fruit of the apostacy, from the Christian faith. Believing, as we do, that it is only as we come to be divested of our own righteousness, and of all confidence in it, and through divine mercy clothed upon with the righteousness of Christ, that any can have a firm ground whereon to rest their hope of salvation, we sincerely deplore the delusion of those who thus wantonly deprive themselves of that hope which maketh not ashamed, and entereth within the veil."

IV. The Doctrine of the Trinity.

I have never thought it right, either in preaching or writing, to make use of this term, which is scholastic in its origin, and is liable to misconstruction; but I consider the doctrine itself, though far beyond the reach of the natural understanding of man, to be plainly set forth in Scripture; and so far am I from regarding it as merely theoretical in its nature, that I accept it as of

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the highest practical importance in the experience of every true believer.

No one who has an experimental knowledge of the great plan of redemption, and calmly reflects on its several features, can fail to perceive that the proper divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, is one of those amazing truths which impart a living efficacy to the whole; for while he offered up himself on the cross as man, yet was he omnipotent, *because of his deity*, to bear the weight of the sins of all mankind, and just in proportion to the supreme dignity of the sufferer, is the comprehensiveness of the hope and joy which we derive from his suffering. "He that spared not HIS OWN SON, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?" Rom. viii, 32. Again, where is the individual convinced of the truth, *as Friends have ever held it*, who will not allow that it is in virtue of his glorious Godhead, that Christ governs his universal church by the immediate influence of his Spirit; and that he is by the same Spirit "the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world?"

It would be irrelevant for me here to adduce the clear and frequently repeated testimony of Scripture to the deity of Christ. Suffice it to say, that this testimony was accepted and promulgated without reserve by our earliest predecessors in the truth, and has always been maintained inviolate by the Society of Friends, to the present day. Nor has the faith of our religious body been less Scriptural, or less explicitly declared, respecting the divinity of the Holy Spirit; for where is the sound believer who does not acknowledge that the Comforter, even the Holy Ghost, whom the Father sends to us in the name of the Son, to dwell with us and in us, and to guide us into all truth, (John xiv, 17, and xvi, 13;) against whom it is an unpardonable sin to blaspheme, (Mark iii, 29;) into whose name the true convert is baptized, as well as into the name of the Father, and of the Son, (Matt. xxviii, 19;) who divideth to every man severally in the church, "*as he will*," (1 Cor. xii, 11,) is himself truly and properly God? Yet, although

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the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, are all three presented to us in Scripture as actually divine, and as severally distinguished by relative properties, in the economy of grace—it is still the same mind, the same power, the same essence. The whole Scripture assures us that there is but one God—even the immutable and everlasting Jehovah—and, therefore, these Three are One. And here I wish it to be distinctly understood, that when in any of my writings I have adverted to the "personality," or "personal attributes" of the Holy Spirit, I have had no intention whatsoever to convey the idea that the Comforter possesses a personal form; much less to represent him as an object of worship separate from God; but only to show, that so far from being a mere influence, he must be regarded as a divine intelligent Agent, truly ONE with the Father and the Son.

My belief on the subject cannot be better expressed than in the following declarations of the early members of our religious society:—

"We believe concerning the Father, Son, and Spirit, according to the testimony of the Holy Scriptures, which we receive and embrace as the most authentic and perfect declaration of Christian faith, being indited by the Holy Spirit of God, that never errs;—1st. That there is one God and Father, of whom are all things. 2nd. That there is one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom all things were made, who was glorified of the Father before the world began, who is God over all, blessed for ever. 3rd. That there is one Holy Spirit, the promise of the Father and the Son, the leader, sanctifier, and comforter of his people. And we further believe, as the Holy Scriptures soundly and sufficiently express, that these three are ONE—even the Father, the Word, and the Spirit."—*George Fox's Answer to all such as falsely say Quakers are no Christians, pp.* 26, 27: *Evans. p.* 3.

"So, being led by the Spirit of God, ye are his sons and daughters, and, by his Spirit, will come to know the Three that bear witness in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost. These are the THREE WITNESSES that are in heaven, that

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bear record of all things; for he is God in the heaven, and God in the earth."—*George Fox's Epistles: Evans*, p. 3.

"There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are One. The Father is in the Son, and the Son is in the Father. No man knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him. The Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. Now the saints have received not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God, that they might know the things which are freely given to them of God. For the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom *the Father* sends in *Christ's* name, He teacheth them all things, and bringeth all things to their remembrance."—*Robert Barclay's Confession of Faith*, p. 104: *Evans*, p. 5.

"Perversion 9. The Quakers deny the Trinity. Principle—Nothing less. They believe in the Holy Three, or Trinity of Father, Word, and Spirit, according to Scripture, and that these Three are truly and properly One—of one nature as well as will." —*William Penn's Key, &c.: Evans*, p. 7.

"The Holy Scripture Trinity, or Three thereby meant, we never questioned, but believed; as also the unity of essence; that they are one substance, one divine, infinite Being; and also we question not, but sincerely believe, the *relative properties* of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to Holy Scripture testimony, and that these Three are One."—*George Whitehead*, p. 195: *Evans*, p. 8.

"Now consider seriously, if a man from his heart believe thus concerning the eternal power and Godhead, that the Father is God, the Word God, the Holy Spirit God, and that these are one eternal God—waiting so to know God, and to be subject to him accordingly—is not this man in a right frame of heart towards the Lord in this respect? Indeed, friends, we do know God sensibly and experimentally, to be a Father, Word, and

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Spirit; and we worship the Father in the Son, by his own Spirit, and here meet with the seal of acceptance in him."—*Isaac Penington's Antichrist Unmasked*, p. 27: *Evans*, p. 10.

To these explicit testimonies, given forth on behalf of the body, by eminent individuals, may be added the following declaration solemnly made by the Society, A.D. 1693.

"We sincerely profess faith in God by his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, as being our light and life, our only way to the Father, and also our only Mediator and Advocate with the Father.

"That God created all things; he made the world by his Son Jesus Christ, he being that powerful and living Word by whom all things were made; and that the Father, the Word, and Holy Spirit are one; in Divine Being inseparable; one true, living, and eternal God blessed for ever." *Signed on behalf of our Christian profession and people aforesaid—George Whitehead, Ambrose Rigg, &c., &c.—Sewel's History*, vol. ii, p. 499.

Under the full conviction that this is a subject, above all others, on which it were very foolishness to attempt to be wise above that which is written, and under a solemn sense of the importance of our faithfully adhering to the doctrine of the *Oneness* of Jehovah, I will now conclude my declaration of faith, on this grand, essential article, in words which I have already published. They were suggested to me, many years ago, by a venerable minister of the gospel, who dearly loved our religious Society, and faithfully adhered to its acknowledged principles to his dying day.

"While the Christian rejoices in the distinct characters and offices of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, so graciously revealed to us for our instruction and edification, he probably never finds his soul bowed down with so deep a reverence, or filled with so pure a delight, as when he contemplates the Almighty as an ineffable glory—an incommunicable name—an infinite and incomprehensible UNITY."

Although I have now given a full and explicit answer, as I trust, to the inquiry of my friend Stephen A. Chase, I am best

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satisfied to add a short explanation of my belief on two points which he has not mentioned—*the resurrection of the body, and the sabbath.*

My convictions on the former subject are well stated in the following sentences selected from the declaration of faith made by the Society of Friends, in 1693, and already cited under a preceding head.

"Concerning the resurrection of the dead and the great day of judgment yet to come, beyond the grave, or after death, and Christ's coming, without us, to judge the quick and the dead, what the Holy Scriptures plainly declare and testify in these matters, we have been always ready to embrace. For the doctrine of the resurrection; if in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable: 1 Cor. xv, 19. We sincerely believe not only a resurrection in Christ from the fallen, sinful state here, but a rising and ascending into glory with him hereafter; that when he at last appears, we may appear with him in glory: Col. iii, 4; 1 John iii, 2.

"But that all the wicked who live in rebellion against the light of grace, and die finally impenitent, shall come forth to the resurrection of condemnation.

"The soul or spirit of every man or woman shall be reserved in its own distinct and proper being, and shall have its proper body as God is pleased to give it: 1 Cor. xv. A natural body is sown, a spiritual body is raised; that being first which is natural, and afterwards that which is spiritual. And though it is said that this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality, the change shall be such as that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God, neither shall corruption inherit incorruption:" 1 Cor. xv. We shall be raised out of all corruption and corruptibility, out of all mortality; and the children of God and of the resurrection shall be equal to the angels of God in heaven. And as the celestial bodies do far excel the terrestrial, so we expect our spiritual bodies in the resurrection shall far excel what our bodies now are." To which declaration may be added the words of JOHN CROOK:—"We believe that we

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shall be raised with the *same bodies*, so far as natural and spiritual, corruptible and incorruptible, terrestrial and celestial can be the same."—*Evans*, p. 114.

Similar declarations were frequently made during the times when Friends were exposed to much controversy as well as persecution. On this subject, I have only to add, that while the testimony of Scripture to the resurrection of the dead, and a future day of general judgment, is both unquestionable and abundant, and was fully received and admitted by our early Friends, it may also be clearly proved from Scripture, (as Friends have always maintained,) that the rational soul of man exists immediately after death, either in happiness or woe; and that it is only as we experience what it is to be raised from our death in trespasses and sins, and quickened into newness of life by the power of the Holy Ghost, that we can possibly be fitted for the awful change which awaits us all, from probation to retribution, and from a brief sojourn in this passing scene to a fixed but boundless immortality.

With respect to the "Sabbath," I wish it to be distinctly understood, that in sometimes applying that term to the first day of the week, as it is observed among Christians, I have had a view to the simple meaning of the Hebrew word, viz.—"*cessation from labour*." I am perfectly aware that the maintenance of the Jewish Sabbath, observed as it was and is on the seventh day of the week, and with a ceremonial strictness which appertained only to the Mosaic law, is, under the gospel dispensation, no longer obligatory. And while I am of the judgment that the setting apart of *one* day, after every recurring period of *six* days' labour, for the blessed purposes of rest and worship, is not to be regarded as a matter of mere expediency, but as a moral and religious duty, truly belonging to the law of our God, I fully unite in the sentiment expressed by Robert Barclay and others of our early Friends, that no portion of time ought to be regarded by Christians as in itself holier than another—that all our time is the Lord's—and that ceasing from our own wicked works, and all the

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willing and running of the carnal mind, we must press forward after that glorious rest, (typified by the sabbath of the Jews,) of which a precious foretaste is bestowed even here, and which is perfected, for the people of God, in the world to come.

Joseph John Gurney, of Earlham, in the county of the city of Norwich, a minister of the gospel in the Society of Friends, on his solemn affirmation saith, that the declaration contained in the fore-going part of this sheet, and printed in eight columns, is a true and honest declaration of his Christian faith on the several articles therein stated; and that, to the best of his knowledge and belief, he has held the same sentiments for more than thirty years.

J. J. GURNEY,
of Earlham, near Norwich, England.

Declared and affirmed before us, at the Guildhall, in the City of Norwich, the first day of August, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty six.

JOHN BETTS, Mayor of the City of Norwich, and County of the same.

GEORGE D. LYNN, Justice of the Peace of the City of Norwich, and County of the same.

J. H. BARNARD, Justice of the Peace of the City of Norwich, and County of the same.

THE END.

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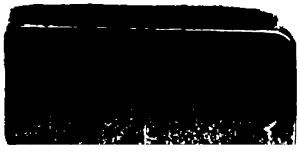

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